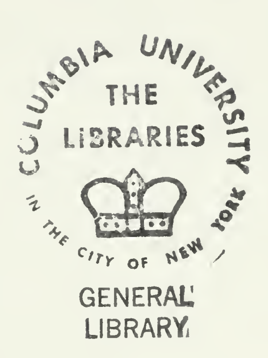
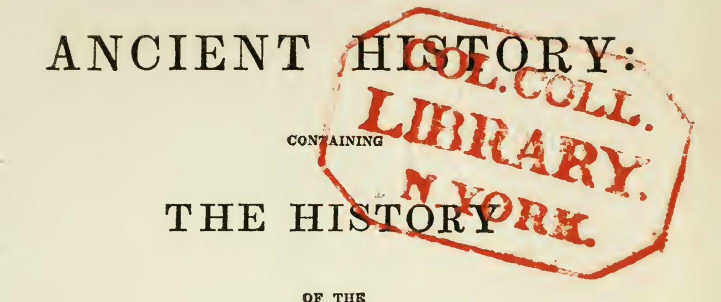


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ANCIENT HISTORY:

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OF THE

EGYPTIANS, ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, MEDES, LYDIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, THE SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA, AND PARTHIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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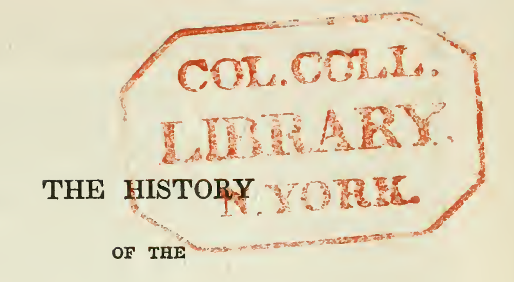
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THE HISTORY

OF THE

ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, ETC.

THE ASSYRIANS AND CHALDEANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.

THE country of Assyria derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem, by whom it was first peopled, Gen. x. 11. Its boundaries varied with the limits of the empire, but the geographical limits of Assyria Proper, which formed the nucleus of that empire, nearly corresponded with those of the present Koordistan, being bounded by Armenia on the north, Babylonia and Lusiana on the south, part of Media and the mountains called Zagros on the east, and the Tigris on the west. In its most extensive signification, both in sacred and profane history, it comprehended not only this tract of country, but Aram, or Syria, eastward and westward of the Euphrates.

In Scripture, Assyria Proper was called Kir, 2 Kings xvi. 9; Amos i. 5; ix. 7; which name may be still traced in that country. Thus the Karduchian or Koordistan mountains, Kiare, the name of the loftiest ridge; and the large town of Kerhook, evidently retain the original word Kir, with some slight variation. This was a rich and fertile, though mountainous region, whence it was called by the Greeks *Adiabene*, "impassable," finely watered by the springs of the Tigris, the greater and lesser Zab, the Diala, and the Mendeli.

Aram, or Syria, eastward of the Euphrates, was divided into two districts, the northern and the southern. The northern district is denominated in the sacred writings, Aram Naharaim, "Aram between the two rivers;" and by the

Greeks, Mesopotamia, a term bearing the same signification, Gen. xxiv. 10; xxxi. 20; Numb. xxiii. 7; Deut. xxiii. 4. This district extended from Mount Masius to the wall of Media southwards, including all the fertile tract between the two rivers. The lower part of this division was called Padan-aram, or "the champaign Aram," Gen. xxv. 20.

The southern district, called "the land of Shinar," or Babylon, Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; "the land of Nimrod," Mic. v. 6; and Babylonia, by the Greek and Latin writers,—reached from the wall of Media, or contracted the space between the two rivers, about 300 miles down to the Persian Gulf, never exceeding four-score miles in breadth.

Aram, or Syria, westward of the Euphrates, is divided in Scripture into Aram Zobah, which reached from the Euphrates to the north and east of Damascus, 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3; and Aram of Damascus, which lay to the south and west of the former, 2 Sam. viii. 5. These corresponded to the Upper Syria, north of Mount Libanus, including Cœlo-Syria, or Hollow Syria, so called from its situation between the two great ridges of Libanus and Anai-Libanus, and Syria Palestina, which included the Holy Land, and that maritime border on its north-western side, which the Greeks called Phenicia.

A late writer on the physical features of Assyria says, that the country, including Taurus, is distinguished by its mountains, plains, and vegetation.

MOUNTAINS.

This feature of Assyria comprises the country of mountains and hills called Taurus, and which is composed of many different chains. The Taurian range encircles the whole of the interior; presenting a bold precipitous front round the whole coast of this peninsula, and so lofty as to be visible at one-third of the whole breadth of the Mediterranean, or upwards of 130 miles. Strabo described Taurus as beginning to rise from Pamphylia, and, in advancing to the east, to send off two branches; on one side Amanus, and on the other Anti-Taurus; but he says that its elevation is not great till it reaches Lycia. The chief summits mentioned by him are, Mount Dædala, on the western extremity; Anti-Cragus and Cragus, which latter is a steep range fronting the sea, having eight promontories or lofty capes; Olympas; the mountain and valley of

Chimæra; Solyma; and, finally, Climax, between which mountain and the shore Alexander marched with his army.

Concerning the mountain Chimæra, which is celebrated in poetic mythology, its existence till lately was doubted; but this doubt arose solely from our ignorance of the coast. It is now called Taktalu, and is in the vicinity of Deliktash, about five miles from the shore. A recent traveller examined the whole of this coast, and ascended its summit, which he states to be elevated 7,800 feet above the sea. The mountain emits a constant and brilliant flame during the night, which consists of ignited hydrogen gas. The flame is most brilliant during the time of heavy rains, or previous to their approach; a phenomenon resembling the Pictra Mala of the Apennines.

This flaming mountain (as physical phenomena were generally in former times ascribed to preternatural causes) has been converted by the ancient poets, Homer, Hesiod, Lucretius, and Virgil, into a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, which was vanquished by the famous Bellerophon and his steed Pegasus. Thus Homer, describing the more than mortal feats required to be performed by him, by his host the king of Lycia, says:

"First, dire Chimæra's conquest was enjoin'd,
A mingled monster of no mortal kind;
Behind a dragon's fiery tail was spread;
A goat's rough body bore a lion's head;
Her pitchy nostrils flaky flames expire;
Her gaping throat emits infernal fire."

Bochart imagines this triple monster to represent the three deities worshipped by the Solymi, the ancient inhabitants of Lycia. Others say, that it signified the kind of enemies with whom Bellerophon had to contend: the Solymi, Amazons, and the Lycians, adumbrated by the lion, the goat, and the serpent. But this is contradicted by the poet in the lines immediately following the description. They read thus:

"This pest he slaughter'd (for he read the skies,
And trusted heaven's informing prodigies,)
Then met in arms the Solymæan crew,
(Fiercest of men,) and those the warrior slew.
Next the bold Amazons' whole force he tried,
And conquer'd still; for heaven was on his side.
Nor ended here his toils; his Lycian foes
At his return a treach'rous ambush rose,
With levell'd spears, along the winding shore;
There fell they breathless, and return'd no more."

This indicates that the conquest of these nations succeeded that of the triple-formed monster, Chimæra. There are others, finally, who conceive that the poetical picture represents the state of the mountain when Bellerophon visited Lycia: namely, that its base was infested with serpents; its middle afforded pasture for goats; and that its summit was inhabited by lions. These they imagine Bellerophon slew, rendering the mountain habitable; whence he was said to destroy the triple monster.

That part of Taurus which is above the plain of Tarsus and Adanah, commonly known as the Ramadan Oghlu mountains, is continued by the Dardun Dagh to the Amanus; but the direction of the two chains is different, as is also their structure and geognostic relations. The southern prolongation of Amanus is Rhossus, which terminates in the Jebel Kasserik, above Rhas Khanzir; and Jebel Musah, above Seleucia.

The mountain of Taurus, stretching east on Commagena, separates Sophena from Osroene, and then divides itself into three portions. The most northerly and highest are the Niphates, in Acilicene. The central chain comprises the Azarah Dagh, and mountain country round the mines, called Maden Gomush, or Kapan, and Maden Kapur. The most southerly is the antique Masius, and includes the Karadjia Daghli, the Jebel Tur, and Baarem hills, extending to the Jezirah. To the south of these are the Babel and Sinjar ranges of hills, united by the isolated hill of Kuka to the hills of Abdel Hassiz.

These various hills are composed of granite, gneiss, mica shist, limestones, diorites, diallage rocks, serpentines, actynolite rock, stea shists, sandstones, feldspatho-pyroxenic rocks, limestones with nummulites, limestones with pectinides and ostracea, fossils, indurated chalk, quartz shist, granular chalk, clay-slate, chlorite-slate, hornblende rock, hornblende shist, gypsum, siliceous limestones, conide limestones, etc.

The elevation of the crest of Taurus, viewed as the mean between the height of the culminating points and that of the passes, is, at Maden Gomush, 5,053 feet; at Dawa Boini, 4,453 feet; at Kuhtel, 3,379 feet; at the Gul Dagh, 4,808 feet; Ayeli mountain, 5,650 feet; Seliski, 4,250 feet; the crest of the Kara Bel, 5,790 feet; that of the Chamlu Bel, 5,260 feet; and the Aklo Dagh, 2,900 feet.

At the foot of these mountains are valleys or plains variously characterized. Some are composed of the feldspatho-pyro-

xenic rocks, some of chalk, some of limestone, sandstone marls mica shist, and gypsum, and some are very fertile.

PLAINS.

The second district includes all the territory which extends from 37° north lat. to 34°, and comprises the plains of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the country east of the Tigris to the Kurdish mountains. The whole of this country consists of cretaceous and super-cretaceous deposits, occasionally interrupted by plutonic rocks of the feldspatho-pyroxenic family. The character of these plains varies with the altitude and latitude, as well as with the quality of the soil, and the presence or absence of dewy moisture.

The structure of the plains consists of indurated, compact, granular chalks, flints, siliceous sandstone, limestones, gypsum, calcareous gypsum, sands, and sandstones, bitumen, naphtha, sulphur, limestone breccia, red saliferous and gypsiferous sands, cerithia, fresh-water limestones, marls, fossiliferous marls, clays, pebbles, ironstones, soil, etc.

The upland of feldspatho-pyroxenic rocks, extending from Jezirah to Tel Sakhan, near Nisibin, is a stony wilderness, amidst which there is very little cultivation. Numerous flocks of sheep and cattle, however, obtain a scanty support here during a large portion of the year, and wolves are very numerous. This plain has a mean elevation of 1,550 feet.

The plains of northern Syria, the plains of northern Mesopotamia, from Urfah to Kakkah, and from Nisibin to El Hathr, and the Chaldean plain east of Nineveh, that of Erbil and of Altun Kupri, possess a soil with good agricultural qualities, but barren from want of irrigation. The elevation, of these plains averages 1,300 feet.

The remaining differences are the comparative fertility of some places, which are exposed to temporary inundations at the heads of rivers or rivulets. These become the permanent abode of agricultural tribes, the seat of cultivation and prosperity, and the resort of the Nomadic Arab and Turkoman, where at certain seasons they lead their flocks. Thus the Shamar Arab tribes frequently pitch their tents, in winter, in the plains of Seleucia, and in the summer overrun the fertile district of El Hathr.

VEGETATION.

Concerning the natural productions of ancient Assyria very little is known; but as it lay between 33° and 39° N. lat., it

must in its happy times have been a land of plenty. We learn this, indeed, from the vaunting speech of Rabshakeh to the Hebrews, when he besieged Jerusalem. "Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me: and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one of the waters of his own cistern; until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards," Isa. xxxvi. 16, 17. See also 2 Kings xviii. 31, 32.

In his narrative of the expedition of Julian to Ctesiphon, Gibbon says, that nature had denied to Assyria, the vine, the olive, and the fig tree, the choicest of her gifts. This is not correct; these choicest gifts of nature's bounty are at the present time to be found, both in Assyria and Babylonia, fallen as these countries now are from their pristine glory. Kinnier says, they may be seen almost in every garden.

That the Assyrians possessed luxuries in ancient times, may be gathered from the statements of Xenophon. Speaking of the provision villages, he says, "Here we found wine made of the fruit of the palm tree, and also vinegar drawn by boiling from the same fruit. Some of these they dried for sweetmeats. The wine that was made of this fruit was sweet to the taste, but apt to give the headache; here also the soldiers eat for the first time the *pith* of the palm tree, and many admired both the *figure* and peculiar sweetness of it. This also occasioned violent headaches." Ammianus and Herodotus bear the same testimony; and that palm wine was very abundant, we may conclude, from the fact that the boats which descended the Tigris from Armenia, some of which were large, had, in the latter historian's days, palm wine for their chief article of commerce.

Palm wine is now no longer made in that country, as when the date trees abounded; but Burckhardt, in his travels in Nubia, describes it as made in that country, which may give the reader an idea of what it was, as made in Assyria and Babylonia. He says: "In all the larger villages of Nubia, the use of palm wine is very common, and at Derr a vast deal of spirits is consumed. The wine does not taste amiss; but it is too rich and too thick to be drank with pleasure. When the date fruit has arrived at its full maturity, it is thrown into large earthen boilers, and left to boil without interruption for three or four days. It is then strained, and the clear juice put into earthen jars, which are well shut up, and then buried in the ground, where it ferments. It is left for ten or twelve

days under ground; at the expiration of which time it is fit to drink. It keeps a twelvemonth, and then turns sour. The *acquavitæ*, made from dates, is of very good quality, and keeps for years. The upper classes of people at Derr are every evening intoxicated, either with date wine or spirits, of which large quantities are consumed. They are sold openly. From Siout southward, all through Upper Egypt, date spirits are made, and probably sold; the Pasha receiving a tax on it from the innkeepers. There is also made from the dates a kind of jelly or honey, which serves the rich people for a sweetmeat.

The features of the vegetation of Assyria may be divided into two sections:—1. That of the mountains; and, 2. That of the plains.

The most remarkable feature in the vegetation of Taurus is the abundance of trees, shrubs, and plants in the northern, and their comparative fewness in the southern districts. The Masius is woody in parts; such, for instance, are a few districts in the Baarem, and the Jebel Tur, near Nisibin, from whence some have supposed Trajan collected the wood for the construction of his fleet. From the summit of Ayeli, pine and fir forests are first visible in the distance, and they ultimately cover the Kara Bel and the Chamlu Bel, as the latter name indicates. On the contrary, around the Arganah, Maden, Kirtchu, and Gul Dagh hills, no trees are to be seen.

The forest trees consist of several variations of the oak; of pine, chesnut, ash, alder tree, hazel, maple trees, etc. Among the useful and cultivated plants of Taurus, are the vine, fig, almond, and olive trees; pears, apples, and apricots also are abundant; and several kinds of wheat are cultivated there.

On the flanks of forests, or isolated, are found the carob, medlar, and plum trees; by the banks of streams, the tamarisk, etc.; and in shubberies and low woodlands, the box, juniper, myrtle, scarlet oak, buckthorn, cypress trees, etc. Heaths are rarely met with; the *Erica arborea*, however, flourishes near Sis, and the *Erica scoparia*, in the valley of Antioch.

Among the plants which distinguish the plains are the following: wheat, barley, vetches of different kinds, spurge, cucumbers of various kinds, banewort, marsh mallow, ect. The plains also produce trees of various kinds: among which may be mentioned the plane tree, which grows near springs and tombs, and attains an enormous size. One at Bir, says Ainsworth, measured thirty-six feet in circumference; and

one at Daphnæ, near Antioch, forty-two feet in girth, and is supposed to have existed upwards of a thousand years.

Among the fruits of the plains are the fig, mulberry, nut, pomegranate, pine, plum, vine, pear trees, etc. Among cultivated plants, *Sesanum*, of which an oil is made ; the cotton tree, etc. And among the useful vegetables furnished by the field, the herb mallows, sorrel, mustard, and asparagus.

For two months in the year, October and November, vegetation ceases in Assyria, every thing being parched up. After this period, clouds from the Lebanon, in Syria, and reverses in the mountain temperatures to the north and east over Mesopotamia and Adiabene, bring down refreshing rains, and cause the grass to grow, and, notwithstanding subsequent frosts and storms, some compositæ do bud. The succession of vegetation is preserved by those plants which have succulent roots, nodes or bulbs, which preserve sufficient moisture to ensure life amidst the most arid soil. They seem to sleep during the summer drought, and awake to life again by the first rains, and prematurely put forth their buds in October. Among these are a species of tulip, crocus, and itia, an herb called by some chameleon. These are soon, however, enveloped in snow, or blasted by the wintry winds, till early in spring they again make their appearance, with all that vivid beauty of colour, and those variety of forms, which are so glowingly depicted on the canvass, or described in the pages, of eastern painters and poets.

CLIMATE.

The climate of Assyria is various. That of Taurus presents us with cold winters, with much snow, and hot summers. In some of the villages, the natives complain of excessive summer heats, especially at Amasiyah and Kapan. Ainsworth says, that in crossing the Marash hills in February, the snow was from two to three feet deep, and so hard as to bear a horse; and yet in occasional bare spots crocuses were in flower, and spiders were running about. At the same time of the year, in sheltered valleys, various coloured anemones bloom ; and in March, the almond tree, pear, medlar, and laburnum, are in bloom.

The climate of the plains is characterized by great dryness, combined with great variations in the temperature of the air From the Mediterranean to the Tigris, there is an increase of cold in the same parallels, from west to east; but this is not

the case in the plains east of the Tigris, which, sheltered by the Kurdish mountains, possess a more temperate winter. The influence of the Taurus, clad for so many months with snow, is supposed to reduce the rigour of the winter's cold, and to cause the vegetation on the plains of North Syria and Mesopotamia to be less southern than that of Sicily and Andalusia. On the other hand, the heat of the summer sun, increased by radiation and equality of level, is almost without an extenuating influence, there being scarcely an evaporation. Hence, when the winter temperature is low, the summer heats are fervid; from which cause, there are few annual and tender plants found in Assyria.

Those divisions of the Assyrian empire which demand particular notice in this section, inasmuch as they were at different periods the seat of government, are Assyria Proper, and Babylonia.

ASSYRIA PROPER.

The country within the limits of Assyria Proper, is called by Pliny, Adiabene; and by Strabo, after the barbarians, Aturia or Atyria, which, as Dion Cassius observes, is a mere dialetic variety of pronunciation, instead of Assyria. Ptolemy divides Assyria Proper into five provinces or districts, thus:

1. *Adiabene.*—This was the chief province of Assyria. It was so called, according to Ammianus, from the two rivers, Diasa and Adiaba. Adiabene had the Tigris to the west, the province of Apolloniatis to the east, Calachene to the north, and Sittacene to the south. It answers in modern times to that tract of land which extends from the river of Zaco, or the Khabour, to the south-east of the little Zab. From Strabo's expression, *Adiabeni vocantur etiam Saccopodes*, we learn that Adiabene lay in the north-west quarter, as the appellation of Saccopodes is now recognized in the region and district of Zaco, seventy-seven miles north-west of Mosul.

2. *Arrapachitis.* This province, according to Ptolemy, was the most northern, its country being watered by the Gyndes. It corresponds exactly to the modern Matiene, or, more properly, Mardiene, where the Gyndes, according to Herodotus, has its source, the mountainous region to the north-west of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, and enters the Tigris half way between Koote and Korna. Both the Little Zab and the Gyndes originated in this district; the former run-

ning west and south-west to the Tigris, the latter south and south-east to the same stream.

3. *Calachene.*—This province lay north of Adiabene, and corresponds to the modern district of Julameric, or the Ha Kiare Koords.

4. *Chalonitis.*—According to Strabo, Chalonitis was a mountainous region, about the ascent of Mount Zegros, answering to the Kelonæ of Diodorus and the pass of the modern Ghilanee, leading to Kermanshah. It probably contained the tract between the Hamerine hills, to the pass of Ghilanee, on the road to Kermanshah, or the tract between the Hamerine hills and Mount Zagros, now called the Aiagha Dagh.

5. *Sittacene.*—Sittacene lay south-east of Chalonitis, between the Silla and the Gyndes. Strabo says, Sittacene and Apolloniatis are names of the same province, the latter being the name imposed by the Greeks after the Macedonian conquest. It was so called from Apollonia, a new city founded by the Greeks. Both Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium agree in placing Apollonia in the road from Babylon to Susa, and the latter makes it the twelfth town in that road. If, therefore, Sittacene and Apolloniatis be the same province, and the road from Babylon to Susa lay through that district, then it must have been the most south-eastern subdivision of Assyria, and must have extended from the Deeallah, or ancient Gorgos, to the Gyndes, or Hud.

These five districts were again subdivided into minor districts. Thus, in Adiabene were Aturia and Arbelitis; and in the province of Calachene was the district of Marde, now Amadia.

RIVERS.

The whole country of Assyria Proper is naturally divided into three parts, by two rivers which rise in the Zagros mountains, and, after traversing Koordistan, fall into the Tigris. The first of these is the

Lycus.—This river is the Zabatus of Xenophon, and the modern Greater Zab. It is a stream equal in volume to half the Tigris at the confluence. Sometimes it is called the river of Julameric, from the Ha Kiare Su, its great north-western branch, which, in its course to the Zab, passes by a town of that name, and capital of the district of the Kiare Koords. The river rises in the mountains of Persian Koordistan, and pursues a north-westerly direction, and, traversing the breadth

of Turkish Koordistan, empties itself with rapidity into the Tigris, about forty-five miles below Mosul, and imparts its own turbid character to the subsequent course of that river. Its breadth, where it enters the Tigris, does not exceed sixty feet; but at the low water horse ford, on the road to Mosul, it is two hundred feet wide, at the least. In the line of road from Mosul to Arbela, now Irbil, considerably to the east of the Tigris, it is deep and unfordable, especially when swelled by the melted snows of Mount Choatras, whose hoary summits are discovered at a great distance on the right hand of the road from Bagdad to Mosul. The second river, the

Caprus, also named Zabas, or Anzabus, by the latter Greek and Roman writers, is probably the present Lesser Zab. The Little Zab is a narrow but deep river, which rises in the nearer declivity of the Koordistan mountains, and pursues nearly a direct south-west course of 150 miles to the Tigris, which it enters in lat. 35°. 10′. At this point, the width of the Little Zab is only twenty-five feet, although in its upper course, after it has received the Altun Su (golden water) at Altun Kupri, (golden bridge,) its breadth is nearly three times as great. It, however, discharges an immense body of water into the Tigris, which immediately after forms a fearful rapid and fall, which greatly endangers the rafts that navigate the river between Mosul and Bagdad.

These two rivers, according to Bochart, are the Diaba and Adiaba, or the Diava and Adiava. Diava, he observes, is *lupus*, or *lupinus*, "wolf," or "wolfish;" *diva* being the Chaldee for "a wolf;" hence he derives the Greek Lycus, which bears the same signification. Ptolemy calls it the Lukos, or "White river," an appellation which corresponds with the colour of its waters, which is most probably the proper term, Lycus being Lukos latinized. This appellation is very common in many countries; as in America, where we read of the White, Red, Yellow, and Black rivers. The larger branch of the Nile is also called the Abiad, or White River, from its muddiness; as the other is called Azrek, or Blue, from its clearness.

Adiaba, the name of the second river, is derived by the same learned writer from an Arabic word signifying "swift;" but this point is by no means clear. The modern name, Zab, he says, is corrupted from Diaba, or derived from the Hebrew Zeeb, which differ but in dialect. Thevenot, in his "Travels to the Levant," speaks of one river only, calls it Zarb, and says he saw it fall into the Tigris. By the natives these

rivers are called Zarpi. The Zarb is spoken of by Thevenot as a large river, half as broad as the Tigris; and he observes that it is very rapid, and that its waters are whitish and very cold; whence he conceives that it is merely snow-water falling from the mountains of Koordistan. This agrees with Bochart's conjecture of the Adiaba; namely, that it derives its name from the swiftness of its course.

Among the rivers of Assyria, may be justly reckoned the Tigris, not only because it bathed all the western skirts o this country, but also because all the other rivers flowed into it, and because the great cities of this kingdom, as Nineveh, Ctesiphon, and others, were situated thereon.

Tigris.—The Tigris is said by some to have borrowed its name from the number of tigers on its banks, as Lycus did from the wolves that haunted the margin of that river. Others derive it from a Persian word signifying an arrow; both terms importing it to be rapid and violent in its course. Some travellers, however, contradict this; stating that it is a slower stream than the Euphrates, and that this is caused by the meanders with which it abounds, as well as its numerous islands and large banks of stone. Ainsworth, who accompanied the Euphrates expedition in 1838, states that the Tigris has a moderate current below Bagdad, but passing over several ledges of rock in its course from Mosul to that city, it forms rapids of greater or lesser importance.

The Scripture name of this river is Hiddekel, Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4; and Bochart derives its present name from that Hebrew word. Rauwolf says, that the natives of that part of the world call it Hiddekel to this day. It is locally and usually distinguished by the term *Digel*, or *Diglah;* and if we deprive the Scripture name of the prefixed aspiration, the remainder, *Dekel*, has considerable analogy with it.

The passage in the book of Genesis speaks of the Tigris as one of the rivers that watered the garden of Eden. "And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria;" that is, towards, or before, Assyria. Rennell, in his Geography of Herodotus, describes the source of the Tigris thus: "The Euphrates and Tigris spring from opposite sides of Mount Taurus, in Armenia; the former, from its upper level, northward; the latter, from its southern declivity; and certain of the sources of the two rivers are only separated by the summits of Taurus. And yet, notwithstanding this vicinity, the sources of the Tigris, by being in a southern exposure, where the snow melts much

earlier than at the back of the mountain, and in a more elevated situation, occasion the periodical swelling of the river to happen many weeks earlier than the swellings of the Euphrates. Of the two, the Tigris seems to be the largest body of water." Pliny represents the Tigris as rising in the region of Armenia Major, from a spring in a remarkable plain, called Elongosine. It runs, he says, through the lake Arethusa, and meeting with Mount Taurus, buries itself underground, and rises again on the other side of the mountain. This account of Pliny has been adopted by Milton, in the fine description he gives of the garden of Eden. Describing the rise and course of the river which watered the garden, issuing from the country of Eden, he says:

> "Southward through Eden, went a river large,
> Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill,
> Pass'd underneath, ingulph'd; for God had thrown
> That mountain, as his garden-mound, high raised
> Upon the rapid current, which through veins
> Of porous earth, with kindly thirst updrawn,
> Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
> Water'd the garden; thence united, fell
> Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
> Which from his darksome passage now appears;
> And now divided into four main streams,
> Runs diverse, wand'ring many a famous realm
> And country."—iv. 223-235.

That by "the river large" the poet meant the Tigris, appears evident from the parallel passage, wherein he describes Satan as obtaining admission into the garden through the subterranean course, which lay remotest from the cherubic watch at the entrance.

> "——————————There was a place,
> Now not, (though sin, not time, first wrought the change,)
> Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradise,
> Into a gulf, shot underground, till part
> Rose up a fountain, by the tree of life.
> In with the river sank, and with it rose
> Satan, involved in rising mist; then sought
> Where to lie hid."———ix. 69.—76.

The whole course of the Tigris to the sea is 854 British miles; thus:—From the remotest source to Korna, is 734 miles, and from thence to the sea, 120 miles; in all, 854, exclusive of the windings. From the source to Diyarbekr, 65; from Diyarbekr to Mosul, 230; from Mosul to Bagdad, 224; from Bagdad to the mouth of the Deeallah, 15; to the Synne,

or river of Mendali, 70; from the Mendali Su, to the Hud, or ancient Gyndes, 100; from thence to the mouth of the Kera, or Kara Su, 60; and from Kara Su to the sea, 90: total, 854.

From our imperfect knowledge of Asiatic geography, it is impossible to fix precisely the remotest source of the Tigris. It appears to have two sources; one from the southern route of the Taurus, and the other from the northern front of the same range: the intervening space being either a collection of small valleys, or a large valley, watered by different streams, which fall into one or the other of the branches. The western branch runs north-east along the foot of another ridge of Taurus, by which it is divided from the small lake of Gurgick, the Colchis of the ancients. It then runs east to Maaden, or the mine town, about four hours' journey, or eighteen miles west from Agana, where, when the water is low, it is not above twenty feet wide. At Agana, it enters the great valley of Diyarbekr, fifty-two miles north-west of that city, through the gorge formed by the junction of the Niphates and Masius, which here form the western limits of the valley. This branch is joined a few miles above Diyarbekr, or Amida, by the northern branch coming from the southern slope of the Niphates, or the Nimrood Dagh. This branch rises sixty-five miles to the north-west of Diyarbekr, and is probably the largest and most distant branch of the two. A little above this junction, the Tigris receives a branch from the south. At Diyarbekr, the Tigris is fordable at all times, except when swollen by the rains or melted snows, when it rises to a great height, and is very rapid. Below this city it receives several other streams from Mount Masius; and fifty miles below Diyarbekr it receives the Batmum Su, a larger stream than itself, which rises in Mount Niphates, and runs from the north-east to the south-west.

In its further progress through the large oval valley of Diyarbekr, the Tigris receives a multitude of streams on the right and left from the Karadgia Dagler and the Nimrood Dagh. These parallel ridges gradually approximate; the one from the north-west, and the other from the south-west, till they form a stupendous narrow gorge, through which the Tigris rushes onwards. The mountains on either side run so close to the river bank, and rise so abruptly from their basis, as to render it difficult for man or beast to penetrate the lofty defile.

Eleven geographical miles below this rocky barrier, the

Tigris forms a low sandy island, three miles in circumference, called Jezeerat-ul-Omar, or Jezeerat-Beni-Omar, signifying the island of the sons of Omar. Of the two branches forming the island, the northern is the larger, being 360 feet wide, very deep and rapid.

From Mosul to Bagdad, the Tigris varies greatly in depth and breadth. Between the Great and Little Zab, it is broad and shallow, interspersed with islands spreading from half a mile to a mile in breadth. Below the Little Zab, it is from 600 yards to half a mile, and sometimes a mile wide, occasionally opening into a vast aqueous expanse, composed of islands and channels. At Tekrit, it is very wide; and at Samarra, once the royal seat of Abasside khalifs, it is a mile broad, with high banks, but shallow stream.

Below the mouth of the Kufri Su, the Tigris is reduced to a width of 300 yards, across which is stationed a bridge of boats. Soon after, it expands to half a mile in breadth. At Bagdad, it is about 870 feet wide from bank to bank. Below the confluence of the Deeallah, the Tigris, augmented by the accession of this large stream, assumes a magnificent appearance, extending at intervals to a mile and a half, and even two miles wide, with high and steep banks elevated from fifteen to twenty feet above the surface of the river. At Koote-al-Hamara, about midway between Bagdad and Bussorah, it is a mile broad; and at this place the Tigris discharges a large branch equal to the Thames at London Bridge, called the Shat-ul-Hye.

Seven miles below Koote-al-Hamara, the piers of an ancient stone bridge are to be seen; but by whom, and at what date they were erected, is unknown.

In the lower part of its course, the Tigris runs on a higher level than the country adjoining its banks; hence the inundations are great on both sides during the periodical swellings.

At Kornah, the Tigris combines with the Euphrates, and becomes an immense stream, and so deep, that a large frigate may anchor close to the angle of land formed by the junction. Fifty miles below Kornah is Bassora, where the tide rises and falls nine feet; and seventy miles below this city it falls into the Persian Gulf.

Like the Nile, at certain seasons of the year, the Tigris overflows its banks. According to Parsons, who spent most of a summer and autumn at Bagdad, and whose account appears to demand greater credence than any other, the commencement of this periodical inundation, or rise, begins in the

latter end of October, and continues to June 7, or a space of nearly eight months. For about a week, the river continued stationary; and the first symptom of decrease took place on the 14th of the same month. At this date, it fell an inch and a half, and continued gradually to fall till September 30, when the river was at the lowest. The amount of decrease, from June 14 to September 30, was thirty-one feet ten inches, which, added to fourtecn feet six inches, its depth at the latter date when at its lowest, makes the total depth of the Tigris, at the maximum of its height, forty-six feet four inches. The depth was taken by Parsons in the centre of the stream, opposite the middle of the bridge of boats. The breadth of the river he states to be, at this point, 871 feet, from bank to bank. The hydrographic basin of the Tigris may be considered as enclosing an area of 36,000 geographical miles.

There is an illusion to the overflowing of the Tigris in the book of Nahum. That prophet, in denouncing the destruction of Nineveh, says:

> "The gates of the rivers shall be opened,
> And the palace shall be dissolved."—*Nah.* ii. 6.

And again:

> "But with an overrunning flood
> He will make an utter end of the place thereof,
> And darkness shall pursue his enemies."—*Nah.* i. 8.

Both these passages mark distinctly the agency of an inundation in opening the way to the beseigers (the Medes) of Nineveh. Diodoris says, that the king of Assyria was greatly encouraged by an ancient prophecy, *That Nineveh should never be taken until the river became its enemy;* and that when the Tigris overflowed its banks, and swept away about twenty furlongs of its wall, he was filled with such consternation and despair, that recalling to memory the words of the prophecy, he gave all up for lost.

This historian does not specify the time of year in which this inundation of the Tigris occurred; hence it is not certain by which of the causes (which still periodically operate in swelling its streams, and which sometimes occasion it to overflow its banks to an alarming extent) it was produced. In autumn it is swollen by rains, and in the spring by the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia. The latter cause replenishes the river more than the former and more frequently causes inundations; hence, it is supposed, it

was by this the proud walls of Nineveh were cast down. A circumstance, remarkably illustrative of this event, occurred A. D. 1831, to the great city Bagdad, that now exists on the same river. While the inhabitants were anticipating a seige, the river overflowed its banks, producing one of the most extensive and destructive river inundations recorded in history. In one night, a great part of the city wall, with a great number of houses, were overthrown by the irruption of the waters, and thousands of the sleeping inhabitants perished.

BABYLONIA, OR CHALDEA.

This portion of the Assyrian empire was a part of that territory called in Scripture, "the land of Shinar," Gen. xi. 2; a name it retained till the days of the prophet Daniel, Dan. i. 2. The name of Babylonia is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the town of Babel, and the name of Chaldea from the Chaldeans, or Chasdim. Sometimes, these two names extend to the whole country, being taken indifferently for each other, and sometimes they are limited to certain districts; by Babylonia, being meant the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon; and by Chaldea, that which extends southward to the Persian Gulf. Chaldea is used by sacred writers for the whole country, and Babylonia by profane writers. The limits of Babylonia have been already defined; hence it need only be observed here, that it nearly corresponds to the present Irak Arabi.

The plain of Babylon, properly so called, extends from Pylae on the Euphrates, to the district of Accad, or Sittacene. It is bounded on the south by the marshes of Lemlun, and on the north by the Median wall, which, according to Xenophon, was fifty-eight miles in length.

This plain, (so celebrated as the spot to which the descendants of Noah attached themselves, and as involving the fall of empires, and the destruction of cities,) in ancient times, and even as late as the days of Xenophon, was a highly cultivated and fertile country. This did not arise from the fertilizing influences of the atmosphere, nor from the inundations of the river Euphrates, but from artificial means. Herodotus says, that the inhabitants either watered the country by the hand, or dug trenches, or canals, for its refreshment and fecundation. Hence it was, combined with the richness of its soil and an excellent climate, that it was aptly compared by this author to Egypt.

ANCIENT CANALS.

The antiquity of the canals of Babylonia dates from the remotest period of the Chaldæo-Babylonian monarchy. The great empire of Babylonia arose upon this alluvial plain, amid a system of irrigation and draining, which spread like net-work over the land. It was crossed by innumerable canals in all directions, the largest of them being navigable, and feeding others; diminishing in importance as they receded from the trunk. These, as well as the parent river, were bordered with vast numbers of hydraulic machines, by which the water was raised and distributed into the fields and gardens. The exact number of these canals it is now impossible to determine, as the ancients are not only confused, but often contradict each other in their description of them. Their number would, indeed, depend much upon the political state of the country. Doubtless, they were most numerous, and kept in the best repair, during the flourishing period of the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties. When Nineveh was destroyed, however, and Babylon ceased to be the capital of an empire; when the seat of royalty was transferred to Susa and Persepolis; and the navigation of the Euphrates from the sea was stopped by the Persians; and cities on the Euphrates and Tigris were mouldering away; the prosperous state of the canals would be interrupted, and some of them would probably go to ruin. But when the seat of power, during the Parthian and Sassanian dynasties, was once more transferred to the Tigris, the canals would be repaired and new ones excavated, as new cities arose in the vicinity. Hence, in the days of Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the country of Babylonia, called Assyria by him, as being full of populous cities, date gardens and canals. But a change once more took place under the baneful influence of Mohammedanism; and although during the khalifate of Bagdad, a temporary prosperity was experienced, yet that was soon overthrown by the ravages of the Turks and Tartars, and a country which was once as the garden of Eden, lovely in appearance, became remarkable for sterility, poverty and neglect.

On the map of Rennell, there are eight of these communicating canals, exclusive of smaller ones, the traces of several of which are still visible, but many more have been destroyed. In the days of the khalifate, four canals of communication are recorded by Abulfeda to have existed; but at present, and for

several ages back, one only has remained open, and even that one runs only during the period of the floods of the Euphrates. This is called the

Nahar Isa, or the canal of Isa. This was the first and most northerly of these ancient canals, and it was derived from the Euphrates, at a place called Dehmah, near Anbar, the Macepracta of Julian. In the time of Abulfeda, it lost itself in the Tigris, in the heart of western Bagdad. By Ammianus Marcellinus it was called Barax, or Baia Malchi; its modern name was derived from Isa Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbas.

Nahar Sarsar.—No traces of the Sarsar canal, which existed under the khalifs, are now visible. It seems to have been a very ancient canal, as it is one of those mentioned by Xenophon, which joined the Tigris immediately below Sittace, and which seems to have been the shortest of all the canals between the two rivers. It derived its sources below the Isa, and flowed into the Tigris above Madayn, which corresponds to the modern Zimberaniyah. Ammianus notices a canal between Macepracta and Perisabor, on the Nahar Malcha, which is identified with the Sarsar. He denominates it Maogamalcha, and mentions a city of that name in connexion with it.

Nahar Malcha.—The bed of the Nahar Malcha, or Royal Canal, is still traceable, and must have occupied the same position in Macedonian and Roman times, as in those of the khalifate. Tradition attributes its excavation to Nimrod, and by Tabari it is described as the work of Cush, king of Babel; from which we may conclude that its origin is coeval with the earliest period of the Babylonian monarchy.* The Nahar Malcha extended from Macepracta, on the Euphrates, to Seleucia, on the Tigris, and it was the canal by which Trajan and Julian transported their respective armies to Ctesiphon. Herodotus says it was of sufficient breadth and depth to be navigable for merchant vessels; hence it is, that some theological writers have considered it as the ancient bed of the Euphrates.

Kutha Canal.—According to Abulfeda, this canal was derived from the Euphrates, a little below the Nahar Malcha, and it watered the territory of Irak. It is mentioned by Ahmed Ibn Yusuf, and is the same as the Kawa of Rennell. It

* Abydenus attributes it to Nebuchadnezzar, who excavated it, he says, to convey the waters of the Euphrates, when it overflowed, into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon.

derived its name from Kutha, near Babel, in the province of Irak, where the text of the Talmud, in Bava Vathra, says, that the patriarch Abraham was imprisoned three years.

Besides these canals, which are termed the canals of Xenophon, there were many others, the names of which are unknown. Thus below Samarra, once the regal seat of several Abasside khalifs, there was a large canal drawn to a considerable distance to the west of the Tigris, and which extended from thence as far south as the canals of communication, three of which were intersected by this large branch, and the third of which reconveyed its waters at the place now called Imaum Musa, three miles above the bridge of Bagdad, and at the termination of the Median wall. The space included by this large canal between Samarra and Imaum Musa was denominated by both Greek and Roman geographers, Mesene, or "the island," and Apamia Mesene, from the city of Apamia, below Samarra. This was a beautiful, fertile, and populous tract, being also intersected with other canals, drawn from the large canal to the Tigris. It was navigable, and from its size was called Didjel, or "Little Tigris." From the Euphrates, two other canals were drawn to the Didjel. The first of these commenced about thirty geographical miles from the Pass of Pylæ; the second, seen by Balbi, commenced four geographical miles below this. Two other canals are mentioned by Xenophon, as occurring in the space of three parasangs, or about eight miles from this.

Canals of Babylon.—In the time of Abulfeda, when the Nahar Malcha ceased to carry off a main part of the waters of the Euphrates, this river is described as dividing, after passing the Nahar Kulbah by six parasangs, or about fifteen miles, into two streams, previous to which, it parted with more canals, which belonged to the city of Babylon Proper. The quarter of Babylon called Bosippa, or Bursif, had its canal; and Abulfeda describes the main stream of the Euphrates as flowing to the city of Nil, that quarter in which Babylon was situated, and giving off the canal of Nil, after which it is called Nahar Sirat. The mounds of Babel, and the Mujelibe, or "overturned," are nearly surrounded by two canals which bear that name at the present date. The Euphrates, moreover, in all probability, flowed between the Kasr, or palace, and the Amram, which is identified with the western palace of Diodorus. On the authority of Abulfeda, the Euphrates, after passing the Nahar Kulba by the distance before mentioned, and giving off the Nil, was divided into two streams,

the southernmost of which passed into Kufah, and going beyond it, was lost in the marshes of the Rumiyah. Anterior to the days of this geographer, it flowed by Ur, or Orchoe, being joined in the parallel of Duvamyeh by the Pallacopas of Alexander, and ultimately emptied itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of Teredon. The same authority describes the prolongation of the larger branch of the Euphrates, beyond the Kasr Ibn Hobierah, by the name of Nahar Sares. This name means "fetid river," and it appears to have been given to that portion of the Euphrates which lay below the Royal Canal, at a time when that derivative carried away a large part of the waters of the Great River. The remainder, flowing sluggishly onward, by Babel and Suza, to lose itself in the marshes of Babylon, became impure from stagnation, and hence it obtained its name.

MODERN CANALS.

Among the canals of more recent date, according to Al Brissi, was that of the Rehoboth of Scripture, Gen. x. 11; and, upon the same authority, and that of most oriental geographers, the canal Al Kadder, or Alcator. Two other canals are mentioned, under the names of the Kerbelah, and the Nesjiff canal. The Kerbelah canal derived its name from Kerbelah, a populous town in the time of Abdul Khurrim. This canal was reopened by Hassan Pasha, of Bagdad, at an expense of 20,000*l.* sterling, after the Persians had retreated to the tomb of their prophet, from the oppressions of Nadir Shah. The Nesjiff canal was constructed by the Nadir Shah; and, according to Abdal Khurrim, it is sixteen parasangs, or about forty miles, from Kerbelah, and one from Kufali. Of the present appearance of Babylonia, Ainsworth says—"The great extent of the plain of Babylonia is every where altered by artificial works: mounds rise upon the otherwise uniform level; walls, and mud ramparts, and dykes intersect each other; elevated masses of friable soil and pottery are succeeded by low plains, inundated during great part of the year; and the antique beds of canals are visible in every direction. There is still some cultivation, and some irrigation. Flocks pasture in meadows of the coarse grasses, (sedges and cyperaceæ;) the Arabs' dusky encampments are met with here and there; but, except on Euphrates' banks, there are few remains of the date groves, the vineyards, and the gardens, which adorned the same land in the days of Artaxerxes; and

still less of the population and labour, which must have made a garden of such a soil, in the times of Nebuchadnezzar."

This leads to a notice of

THE EUPHRATES.

The original Hebrew name of this river was Phrat, by which name it is locally distinguished to the present day, the elements of which still remain in what we have adopted from the Greek.

In Scripture, the Euphrates is frequently mentioned as "the great river," to which distinction it is fully entitled. The stream of the Euphrates rises in two widely separated sources, one in the elevated regions of Armenia, near Erzeroum, and the other near town of Bayazid, on the Persian frontier. The junction of these streams takes place in the recesses of the Taurus, near the town of the Kebban. After having pierced the mountains, the river continues its south-western course towards the Mediterranean; but being repelled by the mountains near Samosata, it inclines a little to the south-east, and afterwards takes more decidedly that direction, which it pursues, until it ultimately joins the Tigris at Korna, in Irak Arabi. The united stream then takes the name of Shut ul Arab, or river of the Arabs, and finally enters the Persian Gulf, above seventy miles below the city of Bussora.

The total course of the Euphrates is estimated at 1755 British miles. Its breadth from Bir to its junction with the Tigris, varies from 300 to 450 yards, though it is occasionally little more than half that breadth. At times, where islands occur in the middle of the stream, it widens to 800 yards, and in some instances to three-quarters of a mile in breadth. Concerning the breadth of rivers, lakes, and inlets of the sea, however, the guesses of ordinary travellers are generally vague. The comparative size of the basin of the Euphrates, including that of the Tigris, is forty-two times larger than that of the Thames, and its annual average discharge 108,000 cubical feet per second, or sixty times that of the Thames. Of itself, the basin of the Euphrates may be considered as enclosing an area of 180,000 geographical miles.

The stream of the Euphrates flows at the rate of five miles an hour, in the season of the flood; but at other times it does not exceed three miles an hour in the greater part of its

course. Rich however, says, that at Hillah, the maximum velocity of the Euphrates is seven miles an hour; and Ainsworth reports that the rapidity of the stream varies in different places. He says, in the depressions of the alluvial plain, it is often not a mile an hour, but over the high ground, as at Kalat Gerah, it runs nearly three miles an hour; that at Hillah, where the stream is confined, it flows four knots through the bridge, and that the Upper Euphrates averages from three to four miles.

The Euphrates flowing, in the lower portion of its course, through a vast plain between low banks, the periodical increase of its waters causes it to overflow, like the Nile, sometimes inundating the country to a great extent, and leaving extensive lakes and marshes in its neighbourhood, after the river has retired to its channel. The rise of the Euphrates begins in March, and continues till the commencement of June, at which time, there is nowhere less than from twelve to sixteen feet depth of water. In the low season, it is generally from six to ten feet; but in some places, even at this season, it is eighteen feet. In describing the average depth, the natives are accustomed to say, that is equal to the height of two men. The water is lowest in November and the three succeeding months; but sometimes there is a slight increase in January.

Ainsworth, in describing the alluvial soil, which the Euphrates, like the Nile, brings down in its course, says: "The period at which the waters of Euphrates are most loaded with mud, are in the first floods of January; the gradual melting of the snows in early summer, which preserve the high level of the waters, do not, at the same time, contribute much sedimentary matter. From numerous experiments made at Bir, in December and January, 1836, I found the maximum of sediment mechanically suspended in the waters, to be equal to 1-80th part of the bulk of the fluid, or every cubic inch of water contained 1-80th part of its bulk of suspended matters; and from similar experiments, instituted in the month of October of the same year, at the issue of the waters from the Lemlun Marshes, I only obtained a maximum of 1-200th part of a cubic inch of water (mean temp. 74°.) The sediments of the river Euphrates, which are not deposited in the upper part of the river's course, are finally deposited in the Lemlun Marshes. In navigating the river in May, 1836, the water flowing into the marshes was coloured deeply by mud, but left the marshes in a state of comparative purity,

and this is equally the case in the Chaldean Marshes, below Orun el Bak, the "Mother of Musquitoes."

According to Pliny, the ancient method of navigating the Euphrates was very remarkable. The vessels used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and little better than wicker baskets coated over with hides, which were guided along with oars or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and some of them capable of carrying burdens of palm wine or other merchandize, to the weight of 5,000 talents, (equal, according to Bishop Cumberland's calculation, to about sixty-two tons English,) having, according to their size, beasts of burden on board. When the vessels had thus fallen down the river to Babylon, the crew unloaded their cargo, and sold their vessel, but kept the hides, and, loading their beasts with them, returned home by land, the force of the stream preventing their backward course by water: steam navigation alone can overcome this disadvantage.

THE PRODUCTIONS OF BABYLONIA.

Herodotus declares that, of all the countries he had visited, none was so suitable as Babylonia for cultivation; and he says that the return was generally two and sometimes three hundred fold, in which testimony Strabo, the first of ancient geographers, agrees. This fertility arose from the system of irrigation before described, as well as from the richness of the alluvial soil of the plain and the salubrity of the climate. It does not appear, however, that the plains of Babylonia abounded in the various luxuries of life. The contrary, indeed, appears from the songs of the captive Hebrews, while sitting on the margin of its waters. This song shows how acutely they regretted their exile from their own pleasant land, the land of the olive and vine, (which Babylonia is not, in the strict sense of the word,) and their own possessions and high enjoyments there. See Psa. cxxxvii.

The productions for which Babylonia was chiefly celebrated were the date palm, which flourished naturally through the breadth of the plain, and which afforded the Babylonians meat, wine, and honey; sesame, which affords them oil instead of the olive; barley, millet, and wheat. For grain, it exceeded every other land. The millet and the sesame, says Herodotus, grew up as trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were four fingers broad. Babylonia, indeed, for vegetable productions, in ancient times, might be justly compared

with Egypt. But it is not so now. According to the prediction of the prophet, the sower is cut off from Babylon, and a drought is upon her waters, and they are dried up, Jer. l. 16, 38. All is now an arid desert, offering only some few patches of cultivation near the few settlements which it contains. The grove trees, so numerous, beautiful and flourishing, in the days of Xenophon and Ammianus Marcellinus, have disappeared with the villages, and are only to be found in and about the principal towns, a few instances excepted, where they mark the site of a place not long deserted. In the city of Babylon itself, which, according to ancient historians, contained within the walls much spare ground that was cultivated and ploughed for corn, there are now no pastures: thus literally fulfilling prophecy, which saith:—

"Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there."—*Isa.* xiii. 20.

The soil of Irak Arabi, which, as the reader has seen in a former page, nearly corresponds to ancient Babylonia, may in general be characterized as a sandy clay, covered with the rubbish of ruined towns and canals. The banks of the Euphrates and Shat-al-Hie are not so perfectly desolate as those of the Tigris; but it is only near rivers and canals that we may expect any redeeming features in the landscape. On the Euphrates, the territory of the Khezail Arabs contains rich pastures and good cultivation, and many villages. But this territory is very limited, and all the remaining portion of the plain bears its testimony to the truth of Holy Writ, which says:—

"Behold, the hindermost of the nations shall be
A wilderness, a dry land, and a desert."—*Jer.* i. 12.

The banks of the rivers, and particularly the Tigris, are skirted to a great extent with the tamarisk shrub, which in some places attains the height of twenty or twenty-five feet. The common tamarisk of the country, the *Athleh* or *Alte*, of Sonini, is the *Tamarisk Orientalis* of Forskal. The solitary tree of a species which, Heeren says, is altogether strange to this country, and which Rich calls *Lignum Vitæ*, found growing upon the ruins of the Kasr at Babylon, and which has been supposed to be a last remnant or offspring of the sloping or hanging gardens, that appeared to Quintus Curtius like a forest, is also a tamarisk, but it differs from the *Athleh* in size. This tree possesses scaly branches and long

slender petioles, with few leaves; the appearance, however, is supposed by some to have been produced by a scanty supply of water and great age, from whence they argue that it may belong to the common species. Curtius says this tree was eight cubits, near fifteen feet in girth. The tree bears every mark of antiquity in appearance, situation, and tradition. By the Arabs it is regarded as sacred, from a tradition that it was preserved by the Almighty from the earliest times, to be a refuge in after ages for the khalif Ali, who, fainting from fatigue at the battle of Killah, reposed in security beneath its shade. It must have been more than 1,000 years old at the reputed time of the engagement, so that it may be supposed a germ from the royal gardens at Babylon.

The willow and the poplar appear in Babylonia, but they rather resemble shrubs than trees, and are more rare than the former plants. The willow was doubtless more abundant on the banks of the Euphrates, in ancient times; for the Hebrews, in their captivity,

> "High on the willows, all untuned, unstrung,
> Their harps suspended."

Isaiah speaks of Babylonia as "The brook of the willows," or, as Prideaux and Bochart would render it, "The valley of the willows," Isa. xv. 7. Ainsworth says, however, that the weeping willow, *Salix Babylonica*, is not met with in Babylonia, and that a poplar, *Gharab*, with lanceolate and cordate leaves on separate parts of the same branch, has been mistaken for a willow.

Tradition states that the castor oil plant once grew luxuriantly in the plains of Babylonia, but there is only one specimen existing, and that grows as a tree on the site of ancient Ctesiphon. The *Asclepias Syriaca* is tall and abundant in some places, and when young, though deemed by us poison, it is eaten by the Arabs. The Carob plant sometimes attains the height of six or seven feet. Camel-thorn is very common and the Arabs express a sweet juice from it, and eat the leaves as we do spinach. Among other plants which grow in this desolate region, are a rare species of rue, *colacynth*, *chenopodium*, *macronatum;* a beautiful species of *mesembrianthemum*, *carex*, *alopecarus*, *centaurea*, *lithospermum*, *heliotrope*, *lycium*, and a beautiful twining species of *solanum*. The marshes near the Tigris are thickly covered with the blossoms of the white floating crowfoot. Of the cultivated fruit trees, near the towns, the date palm is the most important, as

it contributes largely to the subsistence of the population. Grapes, figs, pomegranates, quinces, etc., are good; but apples, pears, oranges, etc,, are of inferior size and quality. Melons, cucumbers, onions, and other plants of this family are abundant and excellent. But these only grow, as stated before, in certain parts of the district. The plains of Babylonia, for the most part are characterized, according to the sure word of prophecy, by desolation, as the reader will discover more at large in the ensuing pages.

CLIMATE.

Babylonia, generally speaking, enjoys a salubrious and wholesome air, though at certain seasons, no air can be more dangerous. Plutarch relates, that the heats were so extraordinary, that the rich were accustomed to sleep in cisterns of water. The country is exposed to a pestilential wind, called the Samiel. This wind is popularly considered to prevail during forty days, but its actual duration is often twice as long. During this period, it commonly rises about noon, or somewhat earlier, and continues until three or four o'clock in the afternoon. It is felt like a fiery breeze which has passed over the mouth of a lime-kiln. It seldom or never rains in Babylonia, during the space of eight months; and it has been known not to rain for two years and a half. Rauwolf says, the inhabitants reckon, that if it rains two or three times in the year, it is sufficient for their purpose. An idea may be gathered of the temperature of the air of the plains of Babylonia from the following table, which was taken at Bagdad, situated in its vicinity, in the years 1830 and 1831.

	Room.		Open Shade.		Sun.	
	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.
1830.	°	°	°	°	°	°
April	—	81	—	88	—	113
May	73	94	71	108	80	122
June	87	98	79	109	86	125
July	89	102	84	113	90	134
August	93	104	87	119	95	140
September	88	97	77	106	89	127
October	70	90	61	100	72	121
November	59	77	45	84	54	102
December	57	64	51	67	58	90
1831.						
January	48	63	37	68	43	88
February	55	66	48	77	54	95
March	59	—	52	—	61	—

At three in the afternoon, during the heat of the summer, it was found that the temperature in inhabited cellars was two or three degrees less than it had been in the ordinary rooms at eight o'clock in the morning of the days when it was taken.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.

UNDER this section, the reader will find all the principal places mentioned in the sacred writings, and by profane writers, as belonging to the empire of Assyria. We commence with those mentioned in the inspired volume, Gen. x. and xi.

TOWER OF BABEL

After the deluge, it appears from the sacred writings, that the children of Noah congregated, in their first emigration, upon the banks of the Euphrates, in "the land of Shinar," and in that part of the land which has been defined under the term Babylonia. While there, they consulted together, to build a very lofty tower. "Go to," said they, "let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth," Gen. xi. 4. The plan was put into execution, the tower was reaching towards heaven, when the work was stopped by the Almighty. He confounded the language of the builders, and, by this new dispensation, scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth, ver. 5—9.

We should take a narrow view of the works of the Almighty, if we supposed that he looked with jealousy on this impotent attempt. Although the works of man may appear fair and magnificent in his own eyes, yet to Him they are nothing; for in his sight

> "The nations are as a drop of a bucket,
> And are counted as the small dust of the balance:
> Behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing."—*Isa.* xl. 15.

It was not the building but the object, which was displeas-

ing in the sight of the Almighty; and hence the result of his displeasure, their dispersion.

"When Babel was confounded, and the great
Confederacy of projectors, wild and vain,
Was split into diversity of tongues,
Then, as a shepherd separates his flock,
These to the upland, to the valley those,
God drave asunder, and assign'd their lot
To all the nations. Ample was the boon
He gave them, in its distribution fair
And equal; and he bade them dwell in peace."—COWPER.

But has man obeyed his high commands? Ask of history, and of observation, and they will answer, No! The same restless ambition has been displayed by man in all ages of the world; and many, full many, are the Babel builders of our own day. But what availeth their devices and designs? Opposed by the powerful arm of Omnipotence, they were quickly brought to nought; and men are taught to experience the truth of the wise man's words, that

"There is no wisdom, nor understanding
Nor counsel against the Lord."—*Prov.* xxi. 30.

He sits in the heavens, and defeats the impotent attempts of those who oppose his will; and though the whole world should confederate against him, the rebuke of the prophet might be applied to them with beautiful propriety.

"Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces;
And give ear, all ye of far countries;
Gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces;
Gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces.
Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought.
Speak the word, and it shall not stand."—*Isa.* viii. 9 10.

It is the wisdom of man to bow at the footstool of his Creator, to ask of him wisdom to know, and strength to perform his holy will; it is his happiness to lay down his arms of rebellion, and to seek his mercy through Christ.

The building of a lofty tower is applicable, in the most remarkable manner, to the wide and level plains of Babylonia. In that plain no object exists, different to another, to guide the stranger in his journeying; and which, in those days, as in the present, was a sea of land, the compass of which was unknown. The effect of these high places remains as striking as ever.

"Chaldean beacons over the drear land
Seen faintly from thick tower'd Babylon
Against the sunset."

as the pile of Akkerkoof, the memorable Birs, and the still more colossal mounds of Urchoe, Teredon, and Irak, although they deceive the traveller as to distance, yet still faithfully guide him to one point in his destination.

There is no statement that this great work sustained any damage at the confusion: it is simply stated that the erection ceased. What were its precise dimensions, it is not possible to state: different writers make it range from a furlong to five thousand miles in height! As there was no stone to be found in the alluvial tract washed and produced by the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, all the building, of whatever kind, must have been built of brick, and cemented in the manner mentioned in Scripture. "And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar," Gen. xi. 3.

It is generally supposed, that this fabric was in a considerable state of forwardness at the confusion, and that it could have sustained no considerable damage, when the building of Babylon was recommenced. From hence, it is not improbable that the original Tower of Babel formed the nucleus of that amazing tower which, in the time of the early authors of classical antiquity, stood in the midst of the temple which was built by Nebuchadnezzar, in honour of the idol god Belus. This was called the

TOWER OF BELUS.

It would appear that Nebuchadnezzar, whose reign commenced about 605 years B. C., took the idea of making this ancient pile the principal ornament of the city, which it was his delight to render famous. The earliest authentic information concerning this tower, in common history, is derived from the pages of Herodotus. This author did not inspect it, however, till thirty years after it had been damaged by Xerxes, king of Persia, who did so in his indignation against the form of idolatry with which it had become associated. He describes the spot as a sacred inclosure, dedicated to Jupiter Belus, consisting of a regular square, of 1,000 feet on each side, and adorned with gates of brass. In the midst of this area arose a tower, whose length, breadth, and altitude, was 500 feet. The structure consisted of eight towers, one above another, and on the outside, steps were formed, wind-

ing up to each tower, and in the middle of every flight seats were provided as resting places. In the topmost tower there was a magnificent chamber sacred to Belus. This chamber was furnished with a splendid couch, near which was a table of gold. There was no statue there when Herodotus visited Babylon, whence some have concluded that the Assyrians imagined the deity frequented his temple when he pleased. Diodorus, however, states, that there was originally a statue of Belus, forty feet high, erected on its summit; and Herodotus himself was informed by the Chaldeans, that there formerly stood in the temple of Belus, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which was spared by Darius Hystaspes, but afterwards was taken away by Xerxes, who slew the priest that forbade its removal. But this latter statue is supposed by Dr. Hales to be the "golden image," made by Nebuchadnezzar, in all the pride of conquest, which he set up as an object of idolatrous worship to his subjects, as recorded by the prophet Daniel. See Dan. iii. 1. It was evidently, he says, distinct from the statue of Jupiter Belus, noticed by Diodorus, and was designed to represent Nebuchadnezzar himself, or the genius of his empire, according to Jerome, supported by Daniel:—"Thou art this head of gold," Dan. ii. 38.

The riches of the temple of Belus, in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, were immense. All were of massy gold. According to Diodorus, the sum total amounted to 6,300 Babylonish talents of gold, or rather more than 21,000,000*l.* sterling.

About two centuries after the devastations committed by Xerxes, Alexander, among other projects, conceived an idea of restoring this celebrated tower to its pristine splendour. As a preparatory step to this undertaking, he employed 10,000 men to remove the rubbish which had fallen from the dilapidated structure; but, after they had laboured therein two months, Alexander died, and the work ceased. From this it may be inferred by the reader, that but faint traces of the original structure can remain at the present day. Such is the case; and hence it is that some identify it with the Mujelibe, about 950 yards east of the Euphrates, and five miles above the modern tower of Hillah; others with the Birs Nemrud, to the west of that river, and about six miles to the southwest of Hillah; and others with Nimrod's tower at Akkerkoof.

THE MUJELIBE.

The Mujelibe was first supposed by Pietro Della Velle to be the Tower of Belus. This traveller examined its ruins A.D. 1616, and he characterizes the mass as "a mountain of ruins," and again, as a "huge mountain." He is supported in his opinion by D'Anville, Rennell, and other high names; but none of them, except Kenneir, possessed any distinct information concerning the Birs Nemroud.

The Mujelibe, or "overturned," is one of the most enormous masses of brick-formed earth, raised by the art and labour of man. According to Rich, the mound is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height, with its sides facing the cardinal points. The measurement of the northern side being 200 yards in length; the southern 219; the eastern 182; and the western 136. The elevation of the south-east, or highest angle, he says, is 141 feet. The western face of the building is most interesting, on account of the appearance which it presents. It is a straight wall, that seems to have cased and parapeted this side of the magnificent pile. The south-west angle is rounded off; but whether it was so formed, or it has been thus worn by the hand of time, cannot be stated. On the summit, it is crowned with something like a turret, or lantern. The other angles are not so perfect, but it is probable, they were originally thus ornamented. The western face is the easiest, and the northern the most difficult of access. Every portion of this mighty structure, though erected as if it would resist the utmost shock of time, has been torn by the rains, which here fell in torrents, with the force and body of water-spouts, in a terrific manner. The eastern face, particularly, is worn into a deep channel, from the summit to the base. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish; in digging into which, layers of broken burned brick, cemented with mortar, are discovered, and whole bricks, with antique inscriptions on them, are not unfrequently found. The whole is covered with fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrified scoriæ, and even shells, bits of glass, and mother of pearl. Dens of wild beasts (in one of which Rich found the bones of sheep and other animals) are very numerous among this ruin; and in most of the ravines are numbers of bats and owls. Yes, these mighty buildings, which were once, perhaps, the chambers of royalty, are now the haunts of jackals, and other ferocious animals; reminding us of the awful prediction of the prophet:—

"Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;
And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures;
And owls shall dwell there,
And satyrs shall dance there,
And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses,
And dragons in their pleasant palaces."—*Isa.* xiii. 21, 22.

It may be mentioned that the Hebrew word *Sheirim*, rendered "satyr" here, is translated by Dr. Henderson "wild goats," and it literally signifies "hairy ones;" a signification still preserved in the Vulgate. In Gen. xxvii. 11, 23; in Lev. iv. 24, xvi. 9, it is applied to the goat; and in Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15, to objects of idolatrous worship, perhaps in the form of goats, and translated "devils." It is probable, that in the verse quoted, and in Isa. xxxiv. 14, some kind of wild goat is intended; but it may be interesting to observe, that Rich, who explored these masses A. D. 1812, heard the oriental account of satyrs while thus employed. He had always imagined the belief of the existence of such creatures to be confined to the mythology of the west, but a Tahohadar who accompanied him accidentally mentioned that, in this desert, there is an animal resembling a man from the head to the waist, and having the thighs and the legs of a goat and a sheep. He also informed him that the Arabs hunt it with dogs, and eat the lower parts, abstaining from the upper, on account of their resemblance to the human species The belief of the existence of such creatures, however ideal, is by no means rare in the vicinity of the Babylonian wilds.

BIRS NEMROUD.

It has been observed, that every one who sees the Birs Nemroud feels at once, that of all the masses of ruin found in this region, there is not one which so nearly corresponds with his previous notions of the Tower of Babel; and he will decide that it could be no other, if he is not discouraged by the apparent difficulty of reconciling the statements of the ancient writers concerning the Temple of Belus with the situation of this ruin on the western bank, and its distance from the river and the other ruins. This difficulty is not insuperable; but without identifying the Birs Nemroud with the Temple of Belus, we prefer giving the reader a description of it, leaving him to draw his own conclusions.

This sublime ruin stands in the midst of a solitary waste, like the awful figure of Prophecy herself, pointing to the

complete fulfilment of her thrilling denunciations. Just, says Rich, as we were within the proper distance, so necessary to the production of grandeur of view, the Birs at once burst upon our view in the midst of rolling masses of black thick clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze, whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity; while a few catches of stormy light, thrown on the desert, in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the waste surrounding the venerable pile.

The Birs Nemroud is a mound of an oblong form, the total circumference of which is 762 yards. At the eastern side, it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; but on the western side, it rises in a conical figure, to the elevation of 198 feet; and on its summit is a solid pile of brick, thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure, extending through a third of its height. It is perforated by small square holes, disposed in rhomboids. The fire-burned bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them, and so excellent is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that it is nearly impossible to extract one whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the fiercest fire, or had been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of brick being perfectly discernable. The ruins stand on a prodigious mound, the whole of which is itself in ruins, channelled by the weather, and strewed with fragments of blackstone, sandstone, and marble. In the eastern part, layers of unburned brick, but no reeds are discernible. In the north side, may be seen traces of building, exactly similar to the brick pile. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent, by several feet each way, the true, or measured base; and there is a quadrangular enclosure around the whole, as at the Mujelibe, but more distinct, and of greater dimensions.

This stupendous structure is believed, both by Rich and Ker Porter, to be the remains of the celebrated Temple and Tower of Belus, completed, if not commenced by Nebuchadnezzar. Porter seems to show that three, and part of the fourth original stages of the tower, as described by Diodorus, may be traced in the existing ruins of Birs Nemroud; and

with regard to the intense vitrifying heat, to which the summit has evidently been subjected, he says, that he has no doubt that the fire acted from above, and was probably lightning. This circumstance is assuredly most remarkable, in connexion with the tradition of the Arabs, that the original Tower of Babel was rent and overthrown by fire from heaven. The same author conceives that the works of the Babylonish kings concealed, for a season, the marks of the original devastation, and that now, the destruction of time and man have reduced it to nearly the same condition in which it appeared after the confusion. As it exists, it reminds the beholder of the emphatic words of the prophet:—

"Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord,
Which destroyest all the earth:
And I will stretch out mine hand upon thee,
And roll thee down from the rocks.
And will make thee a burnt mountain.
And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,
Nor a stone for foundations;
But thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord."—*Jer.* li. 25, 26.

Scarcely half this elevation now stands. In the piece of brick wall, now surmounting the pile, 270 feet from the eastern face of the Birs, is a great mound, equal to the Kasr in elevation, and 1,242 feet broad by 1,935 feet in length. The whole of its summit and sides are furrowed into hollows and traversing channels, the effect of time, violence, and accident, and all are imbedded with fragments of the same nature as the other mounds. It is supposed that this mound contained the minor temples of the attendant gods of the chief divinity, and also the abodes of the priesthood, with their attendants.

Within the quadrangle of two miles and a half, stood the mound and the temple itself, with a large open are expanding on all sides; but on the north side, from the top of the mound, at the distance of 400 feet, mounds of various elevation are descried. Clustering ranges appear to continue curving round to the west, where a vacuum occurs, after which they recommence running eastward. Other chains, of apparently greater magnitude, rise to the west, at 200 yards from the Birs, and these are connected with others to the north and south; so that the whole quadrangle seems to have been filled with variously erected structures. These were doubtless erected for the protection of the various animals worshipped according to the Sabian ritual, the officers in attendance, and the many occasional residents of the place; for the in-

habitants regarded the Birs Nemroud as a temple, a college, a royal sanctuary, and even a fortress, in the days of extremity.

NIMROD'S TOWER.

This pyramidal mass, which many travellers have taken for the ruined Tower of Babel, stands about ten miles to the north-west of Bagdad. By the Arabs, who refer every thing ancient to Nimrod, it is denominated Tel Nemroud; and by the Turks, Nemroud Tepasse: which appellations some translate "The Tower of Nimrod," but which signifies "The hill." The term Akkerkoof, given it by the Arabs, is intended to signify the ground around it; and the word having no distinct meaning, it is supposed by some that it was probably the name of some ancient city of the Babylonians, now buried in the dust. Thus Rennell thinks it to be the ancient Agrani; D'Anville, the ancient Sitace; and Ker Porter, the city of Accad, mentioned Gen. x. 10, as one of the principal cities of Nimrod's kingdom.

The ruined mass of the Tower of Nimrod rises 180 feet above the level of the plain, and 126 feet above the mound whereon it is erected. Its circumference at the base of the upper structure is 300 feet, and 900 feet within ten feet of the base on the mound. The whole mass is computed at 300,000 cubical feet. It is composed of the same materials as the structures before described, and seems to be solid, except certain square perforations, resembling those of the turret of the Birs Nemroud. Like that of the Birs, there is reason to believe that this pile, as well as the lofty conical mounds of Al Hymer, were the temples and mansions of the Sabian priesthood, and dedicated to the worship of the host of heaven. A number of relics of Babylonish idolatry have been dug out of the ruins of the Kasr, and the hill of Amzam; and it is probable many more might be discovered on a close investigation.

CITY OF BABYLON.

There can be no doubt that this famous metropolis of the Assyrian empire was erected upon the site of that first postdiluvian city of which there is any record, and which was built by Nimrod, Babel. See Gen. x. 10. The town founded by Nimrod could have been but of little importance; but its greatness, afteı it had been enlarged and improved by Belus, Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, and his queen, whom Herodo-

tus calls Nitocris, is shown by the writings of ancient historians, and the ruins now found on the site. Herodotus, with whom Pliny and Solinus agree, says that Babylon was a perfect square, each side of which was about twelve miles, and its circuit forty-eight, and that it was so magnificent, that no city could be compared with it. The walls were about 350 feet high, and eighty wide, and it was encompassed with a wide ditch, deep, and full of water. On the top were erected small watch towers, of one story high, leaving a space between them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at stated intervals, were a hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. The Euphrates ran through the city, and divided it into two parts. Each wall formed an elbow, or angle on the river, at which point a wall of baked brick commenced, and the two sides of the river were lined with similar walls. The houses were built of three and four stories. The streets were straight, and intersected by others, which opened at the side of the river. Opposite the end of the streets, small gates of brass were formed in the walls which lined the river; and there were as many gates as there were transverse streets. The external wall served for defence, and there was also an internal wall, narrower, but still very strong.

A bridge was built by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, to connect the two parts of the city divided by the Euphrates. The piers of this bridge were formed of large hewn stones, and in order to fix them in the river, the waters of the Euphrates were turned, leaving the bed of the river dry. It was at this time that the banks of the river were lined with the walls, and the descents to the river from the smaller gates were made. The bridge was built about the middle of the city, and the masonry connected with iron and lead. During the day, pieces of squared wood were laid from pier to pier, which were removed at night, lest the inhabitants on each side should rob one another. When the whole was completed, the waters of the Euphrates were turned back into their ancient course.

Among the curiosities of Babylon, the most celebrated were, the temple and tower of Belus, which ran through the centre of the city, from north to south; the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which formed the citadel; and the spacious hanging gardens, contiguous to the royal palace, which were built by Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify his wife, who was a native of

Media, a mountainous country, with the resemblance of her own, in the level country of Babylon.

The magnificence of this renowned city, after its enlargement and improvement by Nebuchadnezzar, when it became one of the wonders of the world, is strongly expressed by the arrogant boast of that haughty monarch: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Dan. iv. 30. But where now is all its greatness? Reader, while in the plenitude of its power, and, according to the most accurate chronologers, one hundred and sixty years before the foot of an enemy entered its gates, the voice of prophecy pronounced its doom, and a succession of ages has brought it gradually to the dust.

"The kings thy sword had slain, the mighty dead,
Start from their thrones, at thy descending tread;
They ask in scorn, Destroyer, is it thus?
Art thou—thou too!—become like one of us?
Turn from the feast of music, wine, and mirth,
The worm thy covering, and thy couch the earth?
How art thou fall'n from thine ethereal height,
Son of the morning, sunk in endless night!
How art thou fall'n, who saidst in pride of soul,
I will ascend above the starry pole,
Thence rule the adoring nations with my rod,
And set my throne above the mount of God.
Spilt in the dust, thy blood pollutes the ground;
Sought by the eyes that feared thee, yet not found,
Thy chieftains pause, they turn thy relics o'er,
Then pass thee by, for thou art now no more."—MONTGOMERY.

It is a common opinion, that the destruction of Babylon has been so complete, that its site cannot now be discovered, not even by the investigation of the most scientific geographers, and learned antiquarians. This opinion is founded upon the declaration of the prophet, that the Almighty would "cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," and that he would perform this by making it "pools of water," Isa. xiv. 22, 23. This prediction, however, does not mean that every vestige of Babylon should be annihilated, but, that it should cease to exist as a city so called; and that every remnant of it, as an inhabited city, should be cut off, that no human being should make it his abode. Nor does it mean that the whole space including the city, should become a pool of water, for if it did, that very circumstance would point out to the traveller its ancient site. That such was never intended, is distinctly demonstrated by the present aspect of the remains, pointed out

as those of Babylon, which answers in a remarkable manner to the recorded predictions of Holy Writ. These predictions will be noticed, after describing briefly the site and the ruins of that once "golden city."

The best authorities place Babylon near Hillah, a town situated on the Euphrates, which was erected out of the ruins in its vicinity, A. D. 1101, and which is about forty-eight miles south of Bagdad. This opinion is founded on, 1. The latitude of the place, as given by the best oriental geographers, compared with the situation of Babylon, as recorded by classical writers; 2. The stupendous magnitude and extent of the adjacent ruins; 3. Its vicinity to the bituminous fountains of Hit, mentioned by Herodotus, as being eight days' journey above Babylon, upon a stream of the same name, which falls into the Euphrates; and, 4. From the circumstance that the whole surrounding district has been distinguished by the name of Babel, from the remotest ages to the present hour. The author of "Critical Geography," after ably analyzing the opinions of ancient and modern geographers, concludes by saying, that, taking all these authorities together, the site of old Babylon is clearly pointed out to be at, or in the direction of Hillah; and he thus determines its geographical position:—

As the longitude of Bagdad is, according to Rich, 44° 45′ 45″ E. of Greenwich, and N. latitude 33° 19′ 40″; and as the longitude of Hillah, by the same authority, is 44° 33′ 9″, or 12° 36′ of Bagdad, and its latitude 32° 31′ 18″ N., or 38 geographical miles S. of the parallel of Bagdad, and its general bearing from that place is S. 13° W., and the road distant 50 geographical, or rather more than 57½ English miles; we may fix the southern limit of the ruins indicating its site, in 32° 43′ N. latitude, and E. longitude 44° 32′ E. of Greenwich, two miles W. of Hillah.

It is not possible to determine precisely the extent and circumference of ancient Babylon, so as to decide which of the various statements of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Solinus, Ctesias, Diodorus, Clitarchus, and Curtius, are correct. The broad walls of Babylon are broken down, and neither wall nor ditch exists within the area to point out where they stood. Untraceable, however, as the walls now are, some traces of the ancient city commence at two canals, rising east and west, immediately to the south of the village of Mahowil, and a little east of the eastern bank of the Euphrates. One of these canals is crossed by a brick bridge, and as soon as the travel-

ler has gained the opposite side, the vestiges of the fallen city present themselves to his view in awful grandeur. For the distance of twelve miles along the banks of the Euphrates, his eye wanders over mounds of temples, palaces, and human habitations of every kind, now buried in shapeless heaps; and he travels onward amidst a silence, profound as that which presides over the abodes of the dead.

The first object surveyed, after crossing the bridge, is a mound of considerable elevation, about five hundred yards from the second canal. The sloping sides of this mound are covered with broken bricks and other fragments of buildings, while the ground around its base presents a nitrous surface. A few hundred yards in the advance, is another mound of still greater elevation, from which other elevations project in several directions. Two miles from the bridge are the remains of a larger and higher embankment than that of a simple watercourse, and which seems to be the remnant of some interior boundary. The road from this embankment, for the space of four miles, though somewhat even, is nevertheless broken by several mounds, detached portions of canal embankments, and other indications of a place in ruin. These are mingled with large marshy hollows in the ground, and large nitrous spots, which arise from the deposits of accumulated rubbish. At the end of this tract of four miles, a spacious canal is encountered, beyond which, eastward, is a vast uninterrupted flat. At the distance of half an hour's ride from this canal, the eastern face of the Mujelibe is described. After a further ride of an hour and a quarter in the same direction, the Euphrates appears in sight; the view of its north-eastern bank being hitherto totally excluded by the long intervening lines of ruin, which in the ear of reason reiterates the words of the prophet:—

"Babylon is fallen, is fallen."—*Isa.* xxi. 9.

From this point to the base of the Mujelibe, large masses of ancient foundations spread on the right, more resembling natural hills than mounds, and concealing the ruins of splendid edifices. Amid these ruins, the majestic Euphrates flows in peaceful solitude; and although the glory of that river is also departed, it is still a noble feature of the waste scenery.

The ruins which claim most attention are comprised within an area of rather more than two miles, from east to west, and about the same distance from south to north. This space is bounded by the river along its western limits, and contains

a great number of small mounds, and three immense masses of ruins, denominated the Amram Hills, the Kasr, or palace, and the Mujelibe. This latter mound is five miles north of Hillah. To the north-west of this mound commences a magnificent rampart, which, running along its northern and eastern sides, takes its course southward, till intersected by the Nil canal. At this point it makes a curve, stretching away direct for rather more than two miles, at the end of which is an opening of three hundred feet, which is supposed to have been once intended for a majestic gateway. The rampart recommences on the southern side of this opening, and runs in an answering and expanding direction south-west, for a mile and a half, where it unites with a clustre of low mounds, connected with the great mass of ruins south of the hill of Amram. The whole of this rampart is broad and elevated, and along its summits and slopes are traces of ancient buildings; but no moat has been discovered. This space has been compared to a drawn bow from whence the arrow has just been discharged; the river forming the bow, and the two lines of the rampart the string. It is intersected by another ridge of mounds, commencing seven hundred yards south of the Nil canal, and running direct across the area to the opposite side of the rampart.

A little to the west of this, another mound commences, which appears rather low till an opening occurs, when it is seen again rising in high elevations, covered with the wreck of ancient buildings. At the north end of this ridge of mound another commences, striking off nearly at an angle from that point, and running direct west to the river, where it terminates in an elevated mass; the shore being there extremely steep and high, forming an admirable defence against the river, and the sudden invasion of an enemy. This is supposed to be the river embankment built by Nebuchadnezzar, who fortified it with brick and bitumen fortifications, and over against every street leading to its banks placed a brazen gate, with stairs leading down to the water. Diodorus and Ctesias say, that these embankments were formed of sun-dried bricks in courses; and such may yet be found in regular layers along the steep shore, from north to south, and huge fragments of the exterior walls are discerned both on the margin of and beneath the stream. From this point, the river bulwark runs north-west to the mouth of the Nil canal; and from the same point it runs south along the bending course of the river for three quarters of a mile, till it arrives at a

point where the river has changed its channel westward. Beyond this deviation, the bulwark commences in a rapid ascent of forty-five feet, following the course of the stream for about 700 yards, till it is lost in the dense woods of bushes and date trees leading to Hillah. Thus this famous embankment has been distinctly traced for the space of 2,000 yards, along the eastern shore of the Euphrates.

On the north of Hillah, the first ruin that meets the eye of the traveller is a mound called Jumjuma, an epithet which, like Golgotha and Calvary, signifies, "the place of a skull." South of this is the Amram hill, which is 1,100 yards in length, and 800 in breadth, and the figure of which nearly resembles that of a quadrant. The elevation of this mound is somewhat irregular, but at intervals it rises to seventy feet above the level of the plain. It is broken by deep ravines and long winding furrows, and the whole appears one vast elevated mass of earth, mixed with fragments of brick, pottery, vitrifications, mortar, and bitumen. At the foot of the narrowest and most elevated part of the embankment, a number of urns are cemented into the burned brick of the wall, which are filled with ashes, intermingled with small fragments of human bones.

A little to the north of the Amram hill is the Kasr, or Palace, an august ruin, rising full seventy feet above the general level. The whole of this mass is furrowed into deep ravines, intersecting each other in every direction, and as the traveller passes over it, his feet sink into dust and rubbish. Every vestige discovered in it shows it to have been composed of buildings superior to all the rest in this section of the ruins, but the excavations which are constantly going forward there to obtain bricks, make it difficult to decipher the original designs of the mound. In some places, the workmen have bored into the solid mass, discovering on every hand walls of burned brick laid in lime mortar, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthenware, marble, and varnished tiles. Rich discovered a colossal lion, standing on a pedestal of coarse granite of a grey colour, and of rude workmanship. This was on the north side of the mound; and immediately west of it are the ruins peculiarly denominated the Kasr, or Palace.

There is one remarkable difference between the material of the Kasr, and that of the Mujelibe and the Birs Nemroud. The latter piles are vast internal courses of sun-dried bricks, consolidated by the intervention of reeds and slime; but the Kasr is formed of furnace-burned brick, with its necessary

cements. Every brick has been found, on examination, to be placed with its face downward; and where bitumen has been used, the bricks of each course were covered with a layer of bitumen, spread over with reeds, or laid in regular matting; and on this preparation the faces of the succeeding courses were imbedded. This agrees with the account of Herodotus, who states that the bricks for the walls were made of the clay dug from the moat that surrounded them; that in order to join them together, warm bitumen was used, and that between every course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid, interwoven together. The piles of the walls, still standing, are from sixteen to eighteen feet above the general line of their broken summit, and their thickness is from eight to nine feet. Their materials are so strongly cemented together, that though the bricks form the hardest part of the wall, yet they cannot be detached from the mortar. All the portions of brick remaining in this vast ruin, present traces of long passages of square chambers. The arch never appears, which is an evidence of the antiquity of the masses. From this indeed, both Rich and Ker Porter conclude, that the Kasr is part of the ruins of the terraced palace of Nebuchadnezzar; and as this is stated by Herodotus to be about seven and a half miles in circumference, the latter thinks that the large rampart described was the outer wall, and that the space included within the rampart answers to that recorded by the historian. One circumstance, which appears confirmatory of this opinion, is, that on the northern side of the Kasr, among the mouldering fragments, stands the solitary tree before described, called *Athele* by the Arabs. This would appear to be a solitary survivor, or rather a descendant, of those that adorned the re-renowned hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar.

About a mile to the north, and 950 yards east of the river, is the famous mound called the Mujelibe. On the west, there are no ruins at all correspondent to those on the eastern sid of the river. There are a few small mounds enclosed by mud walls, and surrounded by cultivation, but there is no appearance of ruins. But though no ruins exist in the immediate vicinity of the western bank, yet the most stupendous of all the remains of Babylon exist in the desert about six miles south-west of Hillah, and nine miles south-east of the Mujelibe. These are the ruins of the Birs Nemroud, before described.

To the north-west of the village of Anana, there is a mound 300 yards long, by fourteen feet high; and two miles farther,

north west, is a numerous assemblage of mounds, the most considerable of which is thirty-five feet high. These mounds extend three miles, and Ker Porter conceives that they are the ruins of the lesser and older palaces of the Babylonian monarchs. A mile beyond this, the plain becomes sterile, and presents, for more than half a mile in breadth, a multitude of minor mounds. About three miles onward, in the road to the Birs Nemroud, is another space covered with remains of buildings, extending nearly two miles, thereby establishing the fact, that the western plain of the Euphrates sustained its portion of the city of Babylon.

Such are the remains of Babylon, and such its site, as identified by travellers; and hence is shown that the vast dimensions assigned to the city by Herodotus *may* be correct. It must not be supposed, however, that an area of one hundred and forty-four square miles was inhabited. As stated in the former chapter, there was enclosed within the wall that surrounded it, a large space of ground devoted to cultivation. It was, indeed, a walled province or district, containing a number of detached squares or villages, with open areas on every hand, and within them circular spaces surrounded with walls. The streets, which are said to have let from gate to gate across the area, were probably only roads through cultivated lands, over which buildings were distributed in groups. Curtius records this as a fact: and Xenophon reports, that when Cyrus took the city, which event occurred by night, the inhabitants of the opposite quarter of the town were ignorant of it till the third hour of the day, that is, three hours after sunrise, which would arise from the distance of one cluster of houses from another. Besides, the cities of Asia are built very different from those of Europe; the houses being widely separate from each other, and having gardens, parks, and enclosures on the sides and behind, though the streets facing the houses are narrow. Taking these facts into consideration, and remembering that Babylon was the seat of royalty, and that a large part of the space enclosed was occupted by the royal palaces, parks and gardens, besides the Mujelibe, the Temple of Belus, etc., it may be safely conjectured, that not above one-third of the enclosure was occupied by habitations, or three times the space occupied by London, which is reckoned at sixteen square miles. On this reduced scale, the population would be enormous, amounting to between three and four millions of human beings; yet a num ber not beyond the bounds of belief.

It remains now to trace out how far the aspect of the ruins of Babylon answers to the recorded predictions of Scripture.

The prophet says,

"And Babylon shall become heaps."—*Jer.* li. 37.

And what, it may be asked, are the mounds of the Kars, the Mujelibe, the Amram, the Anana, the triangular mound east of the Birs, and the maiestic Birs itself, but immense heaps? Vast tumuli, and palaces of human habitations of every description, buried in undistinguishable heaps, are all that remain of this once "golden city." "From the summit of the ruins of the Tower or Temple of Belus, 235 feet high," says Major Keppel, "we had a distinct view of the vast heaps which constitute all that now remains of ancient Babylon: a more complete picture of desolation could not well be imagined. The eye wandered over a barren desert, in which the ruins were nearly the only indication that it had ever been inhabited. It was impossible to behold this scene, and not to be reminded how exactly the predictions of Isaiah and Jeremiah have been fulfilled," etc.

The prophet says,

"A drought is upon her waters—and they shall be dried up.
And I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry."—*Jer.* l. 38; li. 36.

"The ground, at the time we passed it," records Rich, "was perfectly dry."

The prophet says,

"The sea is come up upon Babylon:
She is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof."—*Jer.* li. 42.

Thus apparently contradicting his previous denunciation. But the prophet does not intend the ocean by the term "sea," but an extensive body of water. And Rich says, "The ruins of Babylon are inundated, when the Euphrates is at its height, so as to render many parts of them inaccessible, by converting the valleys among them into morasses."

The prophet says,

"Bel is confounded,
Merodach is broken in pieces;
Her idols are confounded,
Her images are broken in pieces,"—*Jer.* l. 2.

"Therefore, behold, the days are come,
That I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon."
Jer. li. 47.

Rich says: "We found the sculpture of a lion among the ruins." And Ker Porter's work on Babylon exhibits several specimens of their idolatrous worship, as engraved on cylinders dug out of the ruins.

The prophet says,

"Yea, the wall of Babylon shall fall.
The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken,
And her high gates shall be burned with fire."—*Jer.* li. 44, 58.

Kinnier says, that captain Frederic rode twenty-one miles in length, and twelve in breadth, but was unable to discover any thing that could admit of a conclusion that either wall or ditch had ever existed within the area. Rich and Ker Porter bear the same testimony; but Buckingham, in his chapter entitled "Search after the Walls of Babylon," states, that he discovered, on the eastern boundary of the ruins, on the summit of a large ruinous heap, "a mass of solid wall, about thirty feet in length, by twelve or fifteen in thickness, yet evidently once of much greater dimensions each way; the work being, in its present state, broken and incomplete in every part;" which heap of rubbish and ruins, he conjectures, on many plausible grounds, to be a part, and the only part that can be discovered, of the walls of Babylon, so utterly are they broken.

The city of Babylon was situated in a perfect level: but the prophet says,

"Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord,
Which destroyest all the earth:
And I will stretch out mine hand upon thee,
And roll thee down from the rocks,
And will make thee a burnt mountain.
And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,
Nor a stone for foundations;
But thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord."—*Jer.* li. 25, 26.

This notion of a mountain, it has been said, in the midst of a perfect flat, visited in all parts by the waters of the river, or by pools thence derived, is exceedingly strange and unnatural. But evidence of the fulfilment of the prediction is clearly afforded by the Birs Nemroud. Rich relates: "I visited it under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its effect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy clouds separating, discovered the Birs frowning over the plain, and presenting the appear-

ance of a circular hill crowned by a tower, with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. It being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea so generally prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who have seen the Pyramids. Just as we were in the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight, in the midst of rolling masses of dark thick clouds partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the wastes by which this venerable ruin stands." Here, then, is a great mountain, and this traveller, in describing the appearance of the Birs Nemroud, says: "The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brickwork, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and converted into *solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire, or been blown up with gunpowder*, the layers of brick being perfectly discernible—a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly unable to account." Ker Porter also states; "At the foot of this piece of wall lay several immense unshapen masses of brickwork, some entirely changed to a state of the hardest vitrification; the lines of the cement are visible, and so hardened, in common with the bricks, that, when the masses are struck, they ring like glass. The heat of the fire, which produced such amazing effects, must have burnt with the heat of the strongest furnace." Here, then, is a "burnt mountain," and the prophecy is seen to be accomplished.

The prophet says,

"And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency,
Shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.
It shall never be inhabited,
Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation:
Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.
But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;
And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures;
And owls shall dwell there,
And satyrs shall dance there.
And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses,
And dragons in their pleasant palaces."—*Isa.* xiii. 19—22.

Ker Porter testifies: "As for the abundance of the country, it has vanished as clean away as if the besom of desola-

tion had indeed swept it from north to south; the whole land, from the outskirts of Bagdad to the farthest stretch of sight, lying a melancholy waste." The curse has fallen, in all its tremendous weight, upon Babylon. Not a blade of grass grows there. The same author, speaking of his excursion from Hillah, north-east to the mound of Al Hymer, says: "Now there was not a drop of water in any of the canals. Every spot of ground in sight was totally barren, and on several tracts appeared the common marks of former building. In like manner, the decomposing materials of a Babylonian structure doom the earth on which they perish to a lasting sterility. On this part of the plain, both where traces of building were left, and where none had stood, all seemed equally naked of vegetation; the whole ground appearing as if it had been washed over and over again, by the coming and receding waters, till every bit of genial soil was washed away; its half clay, half sandy surface being left in ridgy streaks, like what is often seen on the flat shores of the sea after the retreating of the tide." Hence it is that the Arab does not pitch his tent, nor the shepherd make his fold there; hence it is that Babylon is now uninhabited.

With reference to the second division of this prophecy, the testimony of travellers also attests its accomplishment. Rich states: "There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts: in one of which I found the bones of sheep and other animals, and perceived a strong smell like that of a lion." And again: "All the people of this country assert, that it is extremely dangerous to approach the Kasr, or Palace, after night-fall, on account of the multitude of evil spirits by which it is haunted." A more emphatic illustration of the accomplishment of this prediction is found in the works of Ker Porter. He says: "In this my second visit to the Birs Nemroud, while passing rapidly over the last tracts of the ruin-spread ground, at some little distance from the outer bank of its quadrangle boundary, my party suddenly halted, having descried several dark objects moving along the summit of its hill, which they construed into dismounted Arabs on the lookout, while their armed brethren must be lying concealed under the southern brow of this mound. Thinking this very probable, I took out my glass to examine, and soon distinguished that the causes of our alarm were two or three majestic lions, taking the air upon the heights of the pyramid. Perhaps I had never seen so sublime a picture to the mind as well as to the eye. These were a species of enemy which my party were accustomed to

dread, without any panic fear; and while we continued to advance, though slowly, the hallooing of the people made the noble beasts gradually change their position, till, in the course of twenty minutes, they disappeared. We then rode up close to the ruins, and I had once more the gratification of ascending the awful sides of the Tower of Babel. In my progress, I stopped several times to look at the broad prints of the feet of the lions, left plain in the clayey soil; and, by the track, I saw, that if we had chosen to rouse such royal game, we needed not to have gone far to find their lair. But while thus actually contemplating these savage tenants, wandering amid the ruins of Babylon, and bedding themselves within the deep cavities of the once magnificent temple, I could not help reflecting on how faithfully the various prophecies had been fulfilled, which relate, in the Scriptures, to the utter fall of Babylon, and the abandonment of the place."

Thus faithfully and beautifully do the word of prophecy and ocular demonstration agree, with reference to the present appearance of Babylon. But the greatness of Babylon did not depart in a day; and each step, in the progress of its decline, was an accomplishment of a prediction. Conquered for the first time, (the particulars of which may be found in the chapter of the kingdom of Assyria,) it was first reduced from an imperial to a tributary city.

"Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon,
Sit on the ground:
There is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans:
For thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.
Take the millstones, and grind meal:*
Uncover thy locks, make bare the leg,
Uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers.
Thy nakedness shall be uncovered,

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* Dr. Henderson says, that the mill here referred to is a hand-mill, resembling the Scotch *quern*, and consisting of an upper and lower stone, the latter of which is fixed, and the former is made to move round upon it by means of a handle. The work is very laborious, and in the east is confined to female slaves, or other females in low circumstances. Homer speaks of the employment as the work of slaves:

"Beneath a pile that close the dome adjoin'd,
Twelve female slaves the gift of Ceres grind:
Task'd for the royal board to boll the bran
From the pure flour (the growth and strength of man,)
Discharging to the day the labour due,
Now early to repose the rest withdrew;
One maid, unequal to the task assign'd,
Still turn'd the toilsome mill with anxious mind."—*Odyss.* xx. 105–108.

Yea, thy shame shall be seen:
I will take vengeance,
And I will not meet thee as a man.
As for our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is his name,
The Holy One of Israel.
Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans:
For thou shalt no more be called, The lady of kingdoms."—*Isa.* xlvii. 1—5.

According to Herodotus, the Babylonians rebelled against Darius, and the walls were reduced in height, and all the gates destroyed.

"Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about:
All ye that bend the bow,
Shoot at her, spare no arrows:
For she hath sinned against the Lord.
Shout against her round about:
She hath given her hand:
Her foundations are fallen,
Her walls are thrown down:
For it is the vengeance of the Lord:
Take vengeance upon her;
As she hath done, do unto her."—*Jer.* l. 14, 15.

The temples and palaces of Babylon were rifled and destroyed by Xerxes, in his rage after his ignominious retreat from Greece.

"And I will punish Bel in Babylon,
And I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up:
And the nations shall not flow together any more unto him.
Wherefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord,
That I will do judgment upon her graven images."—*Jer.* li. 44, 52.

That celebrated warrior, Alexander the Great, attempted to restore Babylon to its former glory; and he conceived an idea of making it the metropolis of an universal empire. But man is impotent to save that which his Maker has doomed to destruction. While the rebuilding of the Temple of Belus, and the reparation of the embankment of the Euphrates were carrying forward, the conqueror was cut off in the height of his power, and the flower of his age.

"Take balm for her pain,
If so she may be healed.
We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed."—*Jer.* li. 8, 9.

Diodorus relates, that Seleucia, according to the design of its founder, was the chief cause of the decline of Babylon as a city, and that it drained it of a great part of its population. A later writer also observes, that about 130 years B. C., Hume-

rus, a Parthian governor, who was noted as surpassing all tyrants in cruelty, exercised great severities on the Babylonians, and having burned the Forum and some of the temples, and destroyed the best portions of the city, reduced many of the inhabitants to slavery, and caused them, with their families, to be transported into Media.

> "For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her,
> Which shall make her land desolate,
> And none shall dwell therein:
> They shall remove, they shall depart
> Both man and beast."—*Jer.* l. 3.

Thus Babylon gradually verged for centuries, towards poverty and desolation. Although Cyrus chiefly resided there, and sought to reform the government, and remodel the manners of the Babylonians, successive kings of Persia preferred Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana, as the seat of government. In like manner, the successors of Alexander made no attempt to carry his design of restoring Babylon into effect; and, after the division of his empire, the very kings of Assyria deserted the "golden city," and dwelt in Seleucia. All appeared to reiterate the words of the prophet:—

> "Forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country:
> For her judgment reacheth unto heaven,
> And is lifted up even to the skies."—*Jer.* li. 9.

It was not to Babylon alone that the judgments of heaven were confined. They rested on the land, as well as the doomed metropolis; and it is pleasing to trace out how beautifully the word of prophecy and history harmonize in the destruction of Chaldea. Speaking of the nations that were to lay waste the country, the prophet says:

> "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people;
> A tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together;
> The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle.
> They come from a far country,
> From the end of heaven,
> Even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation,
> To destroy the whole land."—*Isa.* xiii. 4, 5.

"For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also: and I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the works of their own hands," Jer. xxv. 14.

Among the nations who have served themselves of the land of the Chaldeans may be enumerated the Persians, Macedo-

nians, Parthians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks: and among the great kings who have successively subdued and desolated Chaldea, may be mentioned Alexander the Great; Cyrus and Darius, kings of Persia: Seleucus, king of Syria; Trajan, Severus, and Julian, emperors of Rome; and Omar, the successor of Mohammed. Some of these nations were unknown to the Babylonians, and unheard of in the world at the time in which the prophecy was delivered; and most of them, with reference to their local relation to Chaldea, may be truly said to have come "from a far country," and "from the end of heaven."

The prophet describes their dispositions, exhibiting them as

"Cruel both with wrath and fierce anger,
To lay the land desolate."—*Isa.* xiii. 9.

The Persians and Parthians vied with each other in cruelty and fierceness against both resisting and subjugated enemies. History records, that three thousand Babylonians were impaled at one time, by order of Darius. After this, they were cruelly treated by the Macedonian conquerors of Babylon, and at the time when the possession of Chaldea was contested between Antigonus and Seleucus. So were they, also, under the proverbially cruel Parthians; and in the second century of the Christian era, the Romans, who came "from a far country," proved themselves to be cruel and fierce desolators of Chaldea. "Under the reign of Marcus," says Gibbon, "the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked, as enemies, the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleuçia, with the massacre of 300,000 of the inhabitants tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia sunk under the fatal blow, but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus. Ctesiphon was thrice besieged, and thrice taken by the predecessors of Julian." This emperor carried on the fearful work of his predecessors. The fields of Assyria were devoted by him to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people, those acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The Persians looked from the walls of Ctesiphon, and beheld the desolation of the adjacent country. The extensive region that lies between the river

Tigris and the mountains of Media was filled with villages and towns, and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a state of high cultivation. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect vanished. Wherever they marched, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle were driven away; the grass and corn were consumed by fire; and as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, the vindictive conqueror beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. Perisabor, the second city of the province, resisted a fierce and desperate assault. But it was in vain; a breach having been made in the walls, the soldiers rushed impetuously into the town, and after practising every lawless excess, the city was reduced to ashes, and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. In the end, the Turks, aided by the fierce Saracens, Koords, and Tartars, with persevering cruelty, became the scourge of the land of the Chaldeans. Verily,

"The Lord hath opened his armoury,
And hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation:
For this is the work of the Lord God of hosts
In the land of the Chaldeans."—*Jer.* l. 25.

"Thus saith the Lord;
Behold, I will raise up against Babylon,
And against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me,
A destroying wind;
And will send unto Babylon fanners,
That shall fan her, and shall empty her land:
For in the day of trouble they shall be against her round about.
Against him that bendeth let the archer bend his bow,
And against him that lifteth himself up in his brigandine:
And spare ye not her young men;
Destroy ye utterly all her host.
Thus the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans,
And they that are thrust through in her streets."—*Jer.* li. 1—4.

"Waste and utterly destroy after them saith the Lord,
And do according to all that I have commanded thee.
A sound of battle is in the land,
And of great destruction.
And I will kindle a fire in his cities,
And it shall devour all round about him."—*Jer.* l. 21, 22, 32.

Again, the prophet, in describing the ravages in the land of the Chaldeans, says:

"Remove out of the midst of Babylon,
And go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans,
And be as the he goats before the flocks.

For, lo, I will raise
And cause to come up against Babylon
An assembly of great nations from the north country:
And they shall set themselves in array against her;
From thence she shall be taken:
Their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man;
None shall return in vain.
And Chaldea shall be a spoil:
All that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord.
Come against her from the utmost border,
Open her storehouses:
Cast her up as heaps, and destroy her utterly:
Let nothing of her be left.
A sword is upon her treasures—and they shall be robbed."
Jer. l. 8—10. 26. 37.

"O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures,
Thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness."—*Jer.* li. 13.

When Cyrus captured Babylon, he became possessed of

"The treasures of darkness,
And hidden riches of secret places."—*Isa.* xlv. 3.

But he did not retain them in his own hands. Instead of heaping up his wealth uselessly, his great object was to relieve those who made their wants known to him. So great was his liberality, that Crœsus remarked to him, that he would make himself poor, though he might have been the richest prince in the world. After Cyrus, Alexander, that "mighty robber," spoiled Babylon; and he, also, distributed its wealth to his followers. To every Macedonian horseman he presented six minæ, about 15*l.* sterling; and to every Macedonian soldier and foreign horseman two minæ, about 5*l.*; and to every other man in his army a donation equal to two months' pay. Successive ages brought successive spoliators. Many nations came from afar, and none returned to their own land in vain. It was the prey of the Persians and the Greeks for nearly two centuries; then of the Parthians from the north, for an equal period; till a greater nation, the Romans, came from the distant parts of the earth, to rob the land of its treasures. "A hundred thousand captives," says Gibbon, "and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers, when Ctesiphon was taken, in the second century, by the generals of Marcus." Nor did Julian, who, in the fourth century, was forced to raise the siege of Ctesiphon, go in vain to the land of Chaldea. He also failed not to take of it a spoil, and, though an apostate, he verified by his acts the truth of the Scriptures which he denied. After

devoting Perisabor to the flames, the magazines of corn, arms, and splendid furniture were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service; the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the Euphrates. At this time, also, he rewarded his army with a hundred pieces of silver, and when the enemy were afterwards conquered, the spoil, says Gibbon, was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an oriental camp: large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of precious metal fell into the hands of the conquerors.

A more emphatic illustration of the prediction, that "A sword is upon her treasures," took place when the Mohammedan, Omar, destroyed Ctesiphon. This city was taken by assault, and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of the Chosroes; this is the promise of the apostle of God." These naked robbers were suddenly enriched beyond all expectation. Each chamber revealed a new treasure, secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed. The gold and silver, the various wardrobes, and precious furniture, surpassed the estimate of fancy or numbers. An ancient historian defines the untold and vast mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousand of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth. A paradise, or garden, was depicted on the ground of this carpet; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of gold embroidery, and the colours of precious stones, while the ample square was enriched by a varigated and verdant border. Omar divided this prize among his brethren of Medina, and the picture was destroyed; but such was the value thereof, that the share of Ali alone was sold for 20,000 drachms, or nearly 700*l.* sterling.

This prophecy receives an accomplishment at the present day. A sword may still be said to be upon her treasures. Malte Brun, in his geography says: "On the west of Hillah there are two towns, which, in the eyes of the Persians, and all the Shiites, are rendered sacred by the memory of two of the greatest martyrs of that sect. These are Meshid Ali and Meshed Housein, lately filled with riches, accumulated by the devotion of the Persians, but carried off by the ferocious Wahabees to the middle of their deserts." A

more recent proof that the treasures of Chaldea are still sought after, is found in Captain Mignan's travels: "Amidst the ruins of Ctesiphon," he says, "the natives often pick up coins of gold, silver, and copper, for which they always find a ready sale in Bagdad. Indeed, some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German consuls, hire people to go and search for coins, medals, and antique gems; and, I am assured, they never return to their employers empty-handed."

The predictions against the fertility of the land of Chaldea have no less been verified than those against her treasures and her cities.

"Behold, the hindermost of the nations shall be
A wilderness, a dry land, and a desert.
Cut off the sower from Babylon,
And him that handleth the sickle in the time of harvest."—*Jer.* l. 12, 16.

"The land shall tremble and sorrow:
For every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon,
To make the land of Babylon a desolation
Without an inhabitant.
The daughter of Babylon is like a threshingfloor,
It is time to thresh her:
Yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come.
Her cities are a desolation,
A dry land, and a wilderness,
A land wherein no man dwelleth,
Neither doth any son of man pass thereby."—*Jer.* li. 29, 33, 43.

The accounts of the Babylonian lands yielding crops of grain two and three hundred fold, compared with the present aspect of the country, afford a remarkable proof of the desolation to which it has been subjected. And its ancient cities, where are they? The site of many cannot now be discovered, and those that can, embrace the dust. Even the more modern cities, which flourished under the empire of the khalifs, are "all in ruins." Desolation prevails over the breadth and length of the whole country. The site of Babylon, and of all the other towns in this region, and the level plain itself, are marked by an appearance of utter barrenness and blast, as if from the curse of God; which gives an intense and mournful corroboration to the denunciations of Scripture.

And let us be assured, that if they were thus verified to the letter, as the desolation of proud and wicked nations, they will not be less truly marked as to their fulfillment in the case of the unbelieving and sinful rejector of the offers of the gospel

of Christ. Such shall assuredly die in his sins; and having slighted mercy, shall feel the rod of offended justice.

Thus, with the progressive decline of Chaldea, Babylon the Great sunk into utter ruin, so that now her habitations are not to be found; and the worm is spread over her. When it became wholly deserted, however is not satisfactorily determined. Strabo says, that in his time a great part of it was a mere desert; that the Persians had partially destroyed it; and that time and the neglect of the Macedonians had nearly completed its destruction. Pliny, who wrote in the reigns of the emperors Vespasian and Titus, describes its site as a desert, and the city as "dead." A few years after, Pausanius writes: "Of Babylon, a greater city than which the sun did not formerly behold, all that now remains is the Temple of Belus, and the walls of the city;" and Jerome, in the fourth century, informs us, that Babylon was then in ruins, and that the walls served only for the enclosure of a park, for the pleasures of the chase; and that it was used as such by the Persian court.

Reader, adore the omniscience and omnipotence of the Creator of the universe. He marked the crimes of the inhabitants of Chaldea, and long before he struck the blow, foretold by his prophets their destruction; and when the "set time" was come, he called forth his armies and destroyed *them*, their cities, and their lands. But whilst thou admirest the workings of his providence in the wonderful events, let a solemn fear pervade thy breast, least thou also provoke his righteous indignation. Think not that the crimes of an individual escape his notice, while he marks those of a nation. "Nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest; neither any thing hid, that shall not be made known and come abroad," Luke viii. 17. *He marks thy crimes;* and unless thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the "Rock of ages, or, in other words, unless thou takest refuge in Christ, unless thou believest in Him who died to save sinners, thou also must perish, and that everlastingly. As it was said of Babylon, so the whole tenor of the the word of God, pronounces to the world at large,

"And he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it."—*Isa.* xiii. 9.

Oh, then, flee from the wrath to come!

It has been well observed, that, though Babylon should be vast as the whole world, yet being a wicked world, it shall

not go unpunished; and sin brings desolation on the world of the ungodly.

NINEVEH.

Like Babylon, the celebrated city of Nineveh could boast of very remote antiquity. Who founded it does not appear to be clearly ascertained. The sacred historian relates; "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and and Calah; the same is a great city," Gen. x. 11, 12. The marginal reading, however, runs thus, "Out of that land he [Nimrod] went forth into Assyria," etc.; and as the form of expression in the Hebrew gives equal authority to the marginal as to the textual reading, opinions are equally divided as to which of the senses is to be preferred. But there is one consideration in favour of the latter, which seems to be more weighty than all the arguments adduced in favour of the former by the learned. There can be no doubt that Assur, or Assyria, derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem; hence, it is reasonable to suppose, that he (Asshur) went forth out of that land, (Shinar,) and builded Nineveh. Nothing, indeed, can be more natural than to understand the text of Asshur's migration; and therefore none is so likely to have founded Nineveh as Asshur himself, except it be supposed that Nimrod conquered the country of Assyria, before Asshur had firmly settled himself therein. But this is not probable, for the land would then, we may suppose, have been denominated Nimrodia, from Nimrod, rather than Assyria, from Asshur. In the prophecies of Isaiah, moreover, we read that Asshur founded Babel, Isa. xxiii. 13; but in no part of Scripture is it intimated that Nimrod went into Assyria and built Nineveh.

But whether Nimrod or Asshur founded this city, it does not appear to have been of much importance for many centuries afterward. The passage pointed out indeed, would lead us to conclude that Resen was in its origin a more important city than Nineveh. Like other cities in the east, and like our own mighty metropolis, it rose gradually to the enormous magnitude recorded by historians, when the empire of which it was the capital attained to its highest state of prosperity. Perhaps the commencement of its greatness may be dated about 1230 B. C., when it was enlarged by Ninus, its second founder, and became the greatest city of the world, and mistress of the east.

It appears that the city of Nineveh extended its length along the eastern banks of the Tigris, while its breadth reached from the river to the eastern hills. According to Diodorus, it was of an oblong form, fifteen miles long, and nine broad, and consequently forty-eight miles in circuit. Its walls were 100 feet high, and so broad, that three chariots could drive on them abreast, and on the walls were 1,500 towers, each 200 feet high. The reader must not imagine, however, that all this vast enclosure was built upon. Like Babylon, it contained parks, fields, and detached houses and buildings, such as may be seen in the east at the present day.

This representation of the greatness of Nineveh corresponds with the notice given of the city in Holy Writ. In the days of the prophet Jonah, about B. C. 800, it is said to have been "an exceeding great city of three days' journey," Jonah i. 2; iii. 3; which most probably refers to its circuit; for sixteen miles is, according to Rennell, an ordinary day's journey for a caravan. The population of Nineveh, also, is represented as being very great; it contained more than six score thousand persons that could "not discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle," Jonah iv. 11. This statement is generally understood to include young children, who are usually reckoned to form one-fifth of the entire population, which would thereby give, 600,000 persons as the population of Nineveh, which is by no means extraordinary for a town of such extent. Pliny assigns the same number for the population of Seleucia, on the decline of Babylon; and London, in 1831, contained not less than 1,776,500 persons, within a circle, with a radius of eight British miles from St. Paul's cathedral.

It was while the city of Nineveh enjoyed this high state of prosperity, that the prophet Jonah was commissioned to proclaim to the inhabitants this startling message, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," Jonah iii. 4. The monarch and the people believed his word, and warned by it, by a general repentance and humiliation, averted the blow. The king of Nineveh "arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed nor drink water: but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the

violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, and they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not," Jonah iii. 6—10.

How long the inhabitants of Nineveh continued repentant is not recorded. It is probable that when they saw the danger past, they returned every one to his evil ways—that their goodness vanished as the morning cloud that passeth away. It is certain, indeed, that the generation that followed them were notorious for their wickedness. Hence, the prophet Nahum, about fourscore years after, or B. C. 721, was commissioned with "the burden," or "doom," of Nineveh.

But still mercy kept the sword of justice sheathed one hundred and fifteen years before the catastrophe occurred. Another prophet, indeed, foretold its doom before its downfall. See Zeph. ii. 13—15. But these warnings were unheeded; the people went on sinning with a high hand against the Majesty of heaven. How great their iniquities were, may be inferred from the advice given by Tobit to his son Tobias, shortly before his death, and which is here offered to the notice of the reader, as illustrating an historical fact, and not as an inspired record.

"Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media. And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake shall surely come to pass," Tobit xiv. 4, 8.

The sword that had been thus long hovering over Nineveh, at length fell upon the devoted city. It was taken by the Medes and Babylonians under Arbaces, about B. C. 606, in consequence of the river demolishing part of the wall, where it is said to have been destroyed. Like the city of Babylon, however, the utter ruin of Nineveh was the work of ages and successive spoilators were engaged in its demolition. And here, again, it may be profitable to trace how beautifully the predictions concerning Nineveh harmonize with historical facts, and the testimony of travellers.

The prophet says,

"But with an overrunning flood
He will make an utter end of the place thereof,
And darkness shall pursue his enemies.—*Nah.* i. 8.

"The gates of the rivers shall be opened,
And the palace shall be dissolved.
But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water."–*Nah.* ii. 6. 8.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that the king of Assyria, after the discomfiture of his army, confided in an ancient prophecy, "that Nineveh should never be taken till the river became its enemy;" but that after the allied revolters had besieged the city for two years without effect, there occurred a prodigious inundation of the Tigris, which inundated part of the city, and threw down the wall for the space of twenty furlongs. The king then, he adds, deeming the prediction accomplished, despaired of safety, and erecting an immense funeral pile, on which he heaped his wealth, which with himself, his household, and palace were consumed.

The prophet says—

"For while they be folden together as thorns,
And while they are drunken as drunkards,
They shall be devoured as stubble fully dry."—*Nah.* i. 10.

"Woe to the bloody city!
It is full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not;
The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels,
And of prancing horses, and of jumping chariots.
The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear:
And there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases;
And there is none end of their corpses—they stumble upon their corpses."—*Nah.* iii. 1—3.

Diodorus Siculus says, the king of Assyria, elated with his former victories and ignorant of the revolt of the Bactrians, had abandoned himself to inaction, had appointed a time of festivity, and supplied his soldiers with abundance of wine; and that the general of the enemy, apprized by deserters of their negligence and drunkenness, attacked the Assyrian army, while the whole of them were fearlessly giving way to indulgence, destroyed great part of them, and drove the rest into the city.

The prophet says—

"Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold:
For there is none end of the store and glory
Out of all the pleasant furniture."—*Nah.* ii. 9.

The historian affirms, that many talents of gold and silver, collected from the ashes of the funeral pile and the rubbish of the burned palace of the Assyrian king, were carried to Ecbatana.

The prophet says—

"There shall the fire devour thee."—*Nah.* iii. 15.

And as Diodorus relates, partly by water, partly by fire, it was destroyed.

As regards the predictions which refer to the utter desolation of Nineveh, how awfully have they been fulfilled!

The prophet says—

"He will make an utter end of the place thereof.
What do ye imagine against the Lord?
He will make an utter end:
Affliction shall not rise up the second time."—*Nah.* i. 8, 9.

"She is empty, and void, and waste."—*Nah.* ii. 10.

"And he will stretch out his hand against the north,
And destroy Assyria;
And will make Nineveh a desolation,
And dry like a wilderness.
And flocks shall like down in the midst of her,
All the beasts of the nations:
Both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it.
Their voice shall sing in the windows:
Desolation shall be in the thresholds:
For he shall uncover the cedar work.
This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly,
That said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me:
How is she become a desolation,
A place for beasts to lie down in!"—*Zeph.* ii. 13—15.

In the second century, Lucian, a native of a city on the banks of the Euphrates, testified that no vestige of Nineveh was then remaining, and that none could tell where it was once situated. According to Abulfaray, and the general testimony of Oriental tradition, most modern writers suppose Nineveh to have been situated on the left, or east bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul, and partly on the site of the modern village of Nunia, or Nebbe Yunus, which contains about 300 houses.

The utter ruin of Nineveh was expressed by the prophet Nahum, under this emphatic figure:

"Make thyself many as the cankerworm,
Make thyself many as the locusts.
Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven:
The cankerworm spoileth, and fleeth away.
Thy crowned are as the locusts,
And thy captains as the great grasshoppers,
Which camp in the hedges in the cold day,
But when the sun ariseth they flee away,
And their place is not known where they are."—*Nah.* iii. 15—17.

The extent of the desolation here denounced will be better understood if the figure is explained. It is supposed, that by the "great grasshoppers" here mentioned, are to be understood locusts before they are in a condition for flight; and, certainly, the insect in this state of its existence could not fail to have been matter of sad experience to the Hebrews. The description, indeed, is perfectly analogous to the habits of these devouring insects. The female lays her eggs in the autumn, amounting, some say, to 200 or 300, and she makes choice of a light earth, under the shelter of a bush or hedge, wherein to deposit them. In such a situation, they are defended from the winter's blast, and, having escaped the rigour of the cold, they are hatched early in the season by the heat of the sun, at which time the hedges and the ridges swarm with them. Their ravages begin before they can fly, consuming, even in their larva state, the roots of herbage which spread around them. When they leave their native hedges, they march along, as it were, in battalions, devouring every leaf and bud as they pass; till, at length, when the sun has waxed warm, about the middle of June, their wings are developed, and they flee away, to inflict on other places that utter desolation to which they reduced the place of their birth.

This figure, therefore, implies that the desolation of Nineveh should be so complete, that its site would in future ages be uncertain and unknown; and that every vestige of the palace of its monarchs, of the greatness of its nobles, and the wealth of its merchants, would wholly disappear.

The supposed remains of ancient Nineveh have been examined and illustrated by Rich, in his "Second Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon." He says: "Opposite Mosul is an enclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass, the eastern and western sides being the longest, the latter facing the river. The area, which is now cultivated, and offers no vestiges of building, is too small to have contained a place larger than Mosul, but it may be supposed to answer to the palace of Nineveh. The boundary, which may be traced all round, now looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish of small elevation, and has attached to it, and in its line, at several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the S. W. angle, and on it is built the village of Nebbe Yunus, (described and delineated by Neibuhr as Nimia,) where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonah, much revered by the Mohammedans. The next, and largest of all,

is the one which may be supposed to be the monument of Ninus. It is situated near the centre of the western face of the enclosure, and is joined, like the others, by the boundary wall. The natives call it 'Koyonjuk-Tepe.' Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides, and a flat top. It is composed, as I ascertained from some excavations, of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Koyonjuk, which is built on it at the N. E. extremity. The only means I had, at the time I visited it, of ascertaining its dimensions, was by a cord, which I procured from Mosul. This gave 178 feet for the greatest height, 1,850 feet for the length of the summit E. and W., and 1,147 for its breadth, N. and S. Out of a mound, in the north face of the boundary, was dug, a short time ago, an immense block of stone, on which were sculptured the figures of men and animals. So remarkable was this fragment of antiquity, that even Turkish apathy was roused, and the pasha, and most of the principal people in Mosul, came out to see it. One of the spectators particularly recollected, among the sculptures of this stone, the figure of a man on horseback, with a long lance in his hand, followed by a great many others on foot. The stone was afterwards cut into small pieces, for repairing the buildings of Mosul, and this inestimable specimen of the arts and manners of the earliest ages irrecoverably lost. To this day, stones of the largest dimensions, which clearly attest their high antiquity, are found in or near the foot of the mound."

Thus the reader will perceive, that Nineveh is left without any monuments of royalty, and without any tokens of its splendour or its wealth; that their place is not known where they were; that it is, indeed, a desolation, "empty, and void, and waste," and an utter ruin, according to the Divine predictions.

"Her walls are gone; her palaces are dust:
The desert is around her, and within
Like shadows have the mighty passed away!
Whence, and how came the ruin? By the hand
Of the oppressor were the nations bowed.
They rose against him, and prevailed; for he,
The haughty monarch, who the earth could rule,
By his own furious passions was o'er-ruled.
With pride his understanding was made dark,
That he the truth knew not; and by his lusts,
And by the fierceness of his wrath, the hearts

Of men he turned from him. So to kings
Be he example, that the tyrannous
And iron rod breaks down at length the hand
That wields it strongest; that by virtue alone
And justice, monarchs sway the hearts of men;
For there hath God implanted love of these,
And hatred of oppression, which, unseen
And noiseless though it work, yet, in the end,
Even like the viewless elements of the storm,
Brooding in silence, will in thunder burst!
So let the nations learn, that not in wealth,
Nor in the grosser pleasures of the sense,
Nor in the glare of conquest, nor the pomp
Of vassal kings, and tributary lands,
Do happiness and lasting power abide;
That virtue unto man's best glory is,
His strength, and truest wisdom: and that guilt,
Though for a season it the heart delight,
Or to worst deeds the bad man do make strong,
Brings misery yet, and terror, and remorse;
And weakness and destruction in the end.
So if the nations learn, then not in vain
The mighty one hath been, and is no more!"

ATHERSTONE.

RESEN.

The site of Resen is indicated in the sacred text (Gen. x. 12) with more than ordinary precision; but we have no evidence to show where it stood. Most writers agree in stating that it was erected on the margin of the Tigris, between Nineveh and Calah; and Bochart conjectures it to be the Larissa of Xenophon, which, according to that historian, stood near the Tigris, and had been formerly a great city, eight miles in circumference, inhabited by the Medes, but was, at that date, destitute of inhabitants, and in ruins.

CALAH.

The best authorities concur in placing Calah on the Great Zab, before it enters the Tigris. From this city, the country on the north-east of the Tigris, and south of the Gordian mountains of Armenia, was called Callachene, or Calacine. It was one of those cities founded by Asshur, as recorded Gen. x. 11, but it has long since perished from off the earth. Bochart conceives that this is the same city with Halah, where the king of Assyria placed the captive Israelites, 2 Kings xvii. 6.

REHOBOTH.

The site of Rehoboth has been fixed at many parts of Assyria. Thus some place it below Nineveh, others below Calah, and others fix it on the western banks of the Tigris, opposite Resen. By some, again, it is considered to be the Oroba of Pliny, while others translate it to signify the streets of Nineveh. In the English translation, it is spoken of as one of the cities built by Asshur. See Gen. x. 11.

ERECH.

The rabbins say, that Erech, mentioned Gen. x. 10, as one of the cities built by Nimrod, is the same as Ur, the seat of the nativity of Abraham, and the death of Haran, and which is to the present day denominated by the Syrians, Urhoi, and by the Arabs, Urfah, or Orfah. But this is an unreasonable distance from Babel, in the vicinity of which it was erected; and it would, likewise, give too great an extent to the kingdom of Nimrod. It is generally believed to have been a city of Chaldea, from whence the present name of Irak is derived. Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Ammianus Marcellinus mention cities, the names of which are evidently also formed from Erech. There was a city distinguished as And-Erech, in Susiana, near some fiery and bituminous pools; and there was another, denominated Ard-Erech, on the Euphrates, below Babylon. This latter city, perhaps, occupied the site of the original Erech.

ACCAD.

This city is considered by the most able geographers to be the Sittace of the Greeks, and the Akkerkoof of the present time; both of which names retain some elements of its ancient denomination. It is situated about nine miles west of the Tigris, at the place where that river makes its nearest approach to the Euphrates. The opinion that this was the site of the original Accad, is founded, not only upon the circumstances of its situation and name being favourable to its identity, but also, because there is a remarkable monument there, which the Arabs, to this day, call Tel Nemroud; and the Turks, Nemroud Tepasse: both which appellations signify, the "Hill of Nimrod." This hill is surmounted by a mass of building, which has the appearance of a tower, or an irregular pyra-

mid, according to the point from which it is viewed. It is 300 feet in circumference at the bottom, and rises 125 or 130 feet above the inclined elevation on which it stands. The foundation of the structure is composed of a mass of rubbish, formed by the decay of the superstructure. The different layers of sun-dried bricks, of which it is composed, may be traced very distinctly in the tower itself. These bricks are cemented together by lime or bitumen, and are divided into courses, varying from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and separated by layers of reeds, such as grow in the marshy parts of the country. These reeds are in a state of wonderful preservation. It is supposed, from the solidity and loftiness of the pile, as well as the difficulty of discovering any other use for it, that it was one of those towers which were consecrated by the ancient heathen to the worship of the heavenly bodies, and which served at once as temples and observatories. Piles of this nature have been found in all the primitive cities of this region: the Tel Nemroud, therefore, sufficiently indicates the site of a primitive town; and, consequently, it may have been Accad.

CALNEH.

Both ancient and modern, European and Oriental authorities, concur in fixing the site of this city at what was the great city of Ctesiphon, upon the eastern bank of the river Tigris, about eighteen miles below Bagdad. On the opposite side of the river stood Seleucia, which was built by the Greeks for the express purpose of draining Babylon of its inhabitants, and which was made the capital of their empire, east of the Euphrates. After the lapse of several ages, Ctesiphon, which appears to have been in existence as a small town, (which small town was ancient Calneh, built by Nimrod,) began to assume an importance as a rival to Seleucia, in the hands of the Parthians, those inveterate and fierce foes of the Greeks.

SITTACE.

There is a diversity of opinion among authors concerning the situation of this city. By Ptolemy and Pliny it is placed at a great distance from the Tigris; but Xenophon, who traversed the whole country, and had himself been at Sittace,

says, that it stood only about a mile and a half from that river. In the days of this historian, it was a large and populous city.

APOLLONIA.

This city is placed by Ptolemy between the rivers Gorgus and Silla. It is mentioned by Polybius and Stephanus, who reckon it the twentieth town between Babylon and Susa.

ARTEMIA.

According to Strabo, this city was anciently of great note, and stood about fifty miles east of Seleucia. It is noticed by Tacitus, Isidore, Characenus, Stephanus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and other Oriental geographers. By Isidore it is placed on the river Silla. Both this city and Apollonia were, without doubt, as their names indicate, of Greek origin.

ARBELA.

The city of Arbela (now Arbil, or Erbil, a miserable village, according to Niebuhr's observations) stood on the ordinary route from Bagdad to Mosul, in 36° 11′. According to Rennell, it was forty-six miles from Mosul. It was situated between the Lesser and the Greater Zab, but nearer the latter, in a hilly and fertile district. The city was once in possession of an hereditary race of Mohammedan princes, whose dominion extended to Tabreez, in Azerdbijan, and it was then (about the fifteenth century of the Christian era) a large city, defended by a castle, situated on a hill of a conical shape. Part of the present town, which consists of wretched houses, built of sun-dried bricks, is on this hill, and part around it. The castle has almost disappeared. There are no antiquities at Erbil, but there is a minâreh, belonging to a mosque, at a little distance, which was erected by sultan Musaffer. This minâreh is strongly built of burned bricks and mortar, and has two entrances facing one another, each leading to a flight of steps, by which two persons may ascend the tower without seeing one another till they meet on the summit.

The city of Arbela is famous in history for having given name to the last great battle between Alexander and Darius, B. C. 331. The battle was fought at a spot called Gaugamela, now Karmelis, a little place, about thirty-six miles W. by N. from Arbela, according to Niebuhr; but, according to Arrian, about sixty miles E. of Gaugamela, on a stream called the

Chaser, the Bumades, or Bamelas of Arrian. After the battle, Alexander, in pursuit of Darius, crossed the Greater Zab, and arrived at Arbela; from which circumstance it obtained its celebrity.

Besides the cities enumerated in the preceding pages as existing anciently in Assyria, etc., there were others, as Charracharta, Thebura, Arrapa, Marde, Bessara, Opis, etc.; but nothing is known concerning them beyond their names. At a later date, when the country was under the dominion of foreign rulers, other cities, also, are mentioned by geographers and historians, as Ctesiphon, Seleucia, etc.; and these, also, for the most part, are passed away.

"So sink the monuments of ancient might,
So fade the gauds and splendours of the world;
Her empires brighten, blaze, and fade away,
And trophied fanes, and adamantine domes,
That threaten an eternity, depart!"—R. MONTGOMERY.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

THE GOVERNMENT.

The idea given of the government of the kings of Nineveh and Babylon is, that it was haughty and despotic, and the kingdom hereditary. The whole power centered in the king, and life and death were at his command. All decrees issued from the throne, and none might revoke them. Thus, after Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had been delivered from the burning fiery furnace, by the merciful interposition of Divine Providence, Nebuchadnezzar, astonished at the event, exclaimed, "Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort," Dan. iii. 29. And when the same monarch, troubled by a dream, which had escaped his memory, sought of his wise men for a revelation and an interpretation thereof, because they could not resolve it, he showed his absolute power over his subjects, by issuing a decree, that all the wise men of Babylon should be slain: "And the decree went forth that the wise men should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain," Dan. ii. 13. This despotism was the natural result of impious arrogance. The monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon affected even Divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and set themselves above all the nations and the gods of the nations they vanquished. "Hath any of the gods of the nations," said Sennacherib, by the lips of the vaunting Rabshakeh, "delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? Who are they

among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?" 2 Kings xviii. 33—35. Entertaining such arrogant notions as these, it is no wonder that they lorded it over their own people, and the nations whom they might conquer. Their impious arrogance did not even stop here. Sometimes they required that none under heaven should be worshipped but themselves. Speaking of Holofernes, the writer of the book of Judith says: "Yet he did cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves: for he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god," Judith iii. 8.

The monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon sometimes even presumed to pass sentence upon the whole world. Of the same monarch it is said: "So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth. Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth. And when he had ended his council, Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his army, which was next unto him, and said unto him, Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen a hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand. And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment. And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me earth and water:* for I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them: so that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and their river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow: and I will lead them captive to the utmost parts of all the earth. Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coasts: and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment. But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them wheresoever thou goest. For as I

* This was after the manner of the kings of Persia; to whom, according to Herodotus, earth and water were wont to be given, to acknowledge that they were lords of land and sea.

live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand. And take thou heed that thou transgress none of the commandments of thy lord, but accomplish them fully, as I have commanded thee, and defer not to do them," Judith ii. 2—13.

The happiness or misery of the subjects of these arrogant monarchs wholly depend on their arbitrary will and pleasure. The only doctrine in politics promulgated by them was passive obedience and non-resistance. Their right to rule as they pleased, and as their passions dictated, was constantly inculcated and universally believed. It is no matter of astonishment, therefore, that these monarchs, invested with such extraordinary powers, should require proportionate homage, and assume correspondent titles. No subject could approach their presence but by humble prostrations, and none durst address them, (no, not even their own offspring,) by any other title than that of Lord, great king, and king of kings. Thus, Rabshakeh, in addressing the messengers of Hezekiah, called Sennacherib the "great king, the king of Assyria," Isa. xxxvi. 4. And Daniel, speaking to Nebuchadnezzar, called him, "king of kings," Dan. ii. 37. In later ages the Parthian sovereigns assumed to themselves the same titles. Vologeses, in writing to the emperor Vespasian, used the following superscription: "Arsaces, king of kings, to the emperor Flavius Vespasian;" and he was answered in his own style: thus, "Flavius Vespasian to Arsaces, king of kings." Phrahates III., before this, had sent ambassadors to Pompey, to expostulate with him, for omitting in his letter to him the title of "king of kings." None durst appear in their presence, without prostrating themselves on the ground. Nay, more, they were obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. And this was not only exacted of their own subjects and vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors: the captain of the guard being charged to inquire of those who sought admittance to the king, whether they were willing to pay him that homage. If they refused, they were informed, that the king's ears were open only to such as were willing to obey the royal command of rendering this homage. Philostratus says, that in the days of Apollonius, a golden statue of the Parthian king was exposed to all who entered Babylon: and that only such who adored it were admitted within the walls.

The kings of Assyria appear to have administered their government by different kinds of officers, both civil and mili-

tary. Strabo divides them into three classes, and says that they were chosen from among the gravest and noblest personages in the empire. The first of these had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage; the second took cognizance of thefts; and the third of all other crimes. From Scripture it may be gathered, that the subordinate powers of the king of Assyria were divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces, Dan. iii. 2, 3. So that it would appear, nothing was wanting to preserve peace and good order in the empire; and that the civil and military economy was under severe regulations.

In their own household, the monarchs of Assyria had officers high in rank. The chief of these officers appears to have been "the captain of the guard," who had the execution of all his master's arbitrary and sanguinary commands. This appears evident from Dan. ii. 14, 15, wherein it is related that Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, was commissioned to slay all the wise men of Babylon. Whenever an officer of this rank, among the Egyptians or Babylonians, is mentioned in Scripture, he is called *Sar*, or *Rabhattubbachim*, literally, "chief of the slaughtermen;" the same word being applied to the slaughterer of beasts; and, hence, it is equivalent to "chief of the executioners;" the body guard, under the direction of their chief, being, in the east, charged with the execution of capital punishments, and the commander himself often putting the more distinguished offenders to death with his own hand.

The second in authority in the king's palace had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace: "And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes; children in whom was no blemish, but well-favoured, and skilled in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans. And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king," Dan. i. 3—5. This has always been the custom in the eastern countries; and, at this day it may receive illustration from the customs in the Ottoman court. Ricaut, in his "State of the Ottoman Empire," says,

"The youths that are designed for the great offices of the Turkish empire must be of admirable features, and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature; for it is conceived that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit in a serene and ingenuous aspect; and I have observed, not only in the seraglio, but also in the courts of great men, their personal attendants have been of comely, lusty youths, well habited, deporting themselves with singular modesty and respect in the presence of their masters. So that, when a pasha, aga, or spahee travels, he is always attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing youths, well clothed and mounted, in great numbers; that one may guess of the greatness of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of servants which accompany persons of quality in their journeys."

The whole of the account given of the arrangements for the Hebrew youths, together with the distinction which Daniel, as well as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego ultimately attained, is not only instructive as to the usages of the Chaldean court, but may be illustrated by the customs of Turkey, before the alterations made in the present century. The pages and officers of the court, as well as the greater part of the public functionaries and governors of provinces, were originally youths taken captive in war, or bought or stolen in times of peace. The finest and most able of these were sent to the palace, and, if accepted, were placed under the charge of the chief of the white eunuchs. Those that were accepted, were brought up in the religion of their masters; and there were schools in the palace, in which they received such complete instruction in Turkish learning and science, as few others could obtain. Among the accomplishments, great pains were taken to teach them to speak the Turkish language with the greatest purity. The youths were well clothed, but their diet was temperate. They slept in large chambers, where there were rows of beds. Every one slept separately; and between every third or fourth bed lay a white eunuch, whose duty it was to keep a watchful eye upon the conduct of those near him, and report it to his superior. When any of them arrived at a proper age, they were instructed in military exercises, and great pains were taken to render them active, robust, and brave. Every one, also, was taught some mechanical or liberal art, that they might have a resource in time of adversity. When their education was completed, those who had displayed the greatest capacity and

valour were employed about the person of the king, and the rest given to the service of the treasury, and the other offices of the establishment to which they belonged. The more talented were promoted to the various high court offices, which gave them access to the private apartments of the seraglio, so that they could converse at almost any time with their great master. This advantage paved the way for their promotion to the government of provinces, and to military commands; and it often happened, that favourite court officers were promoted to the post of grand vizier, or chief minister, and other high offices of state, without having been previously pashas or military commanders.

A third officer in the court of the Assyrian monarchs, was the prime minister, who resembled the Turkish vizier, and who more immediately represented the person of his great master. To this dignity Daniel was promoted, after he had revealed and interpreted the forgotten dream of Nebuchadnezzar. It is said: "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon. Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon; but Daniel sat in the gate of the king," Dan. ii. 48, 49. The object for which this officer "sat in the gate," as it is called, was to hear complaints, and to pass judgments; and, therefore, he may be said to have been the representative of the king.

Besides these officers, there seems to have been a master of the magicians at court, whose business it was to satisfy the king upon any subject he might require to know with regard to futurity and prognostications. To this post, also, Daniel was exalted. See Dan. iv. 9.

It has been before recorded, that none was allowed the honour of serving in the monarch's presence that was not remarkable for comeliness of person and excellency of parts. As might be expected, this rule extended to their wives and concubines. Of these latter there appears to have been a great number, as there afterwards was in the Persian court; for it is said of the impious Belshazzar, that he brought "the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein," Dan. v. 2.

From this latter quotation, it would appear, that though the

monarchs of this mighty empire considered the whole world as created for their use and service, they nevertheless mingled with their subjects in banqueting and revelling, more especially with the lords and chief men in their dominion. The common style of addressing them was, "O king, live for ever," Dan. ii. 4; v. 10; and those who gained their favour were clothed in purple or scarlet, adorned with chains of gold about their necks, and invested with some government. Thus the guilty Belshazzar, smitten with fear of the handwriting upon the wall, asserted to the wise men, while yet his knees were smiting one against another: "Whosoever shall read this writing, and show me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom," Dan. v. 7.

The exhortation of the psalmist is peculiarly suitable to the circumstance we here relate.

"Put not your trust in princes,
Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.
His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth;
In that very day his thoughts perish."—*Psa.* cxlvi. 3, 4.

Even the mighty tyrants of Babylon and Nineveh stooped to the stroke of the mightier tyrant, Death! and though they exalted themselves as gods on earth, in the common course of nature, or by the hand of violence, they were eventually proved to be mortals!

According to Arrian, when the kings of Assyria died, they were buried in the Lemlun marshes; and Ainsworth in writing of these plains, which the Euphrates expedition explored, says: "The easterly extent of the valley of the Lemlun marshes leaves a narrow band of soil between the marshes and the Tigris, which is everywhere covered, like the plains of Babylonia and of Chaldea, with the monuments of antique industry and enterprise. Thus the words of Arrian receive confirmation from existing mounds and ruins. This territory, inhabited by the Zobeid Arabs, contains the great mounds of Mizisitha, Ithahr, Uffrin, Jerrah Supli, Nimalah, and many others of minor importance, situated between the more massive, lofty, and extended ruins which belong to Zibliyah, in the north, and to Jayithah Tel Siphr, and Irak, or Erech, on the south. On some of these monumental mounds, Messrs. Frazer and Ross found glazed earthen coffins, still more corroborative of the descriptions of Arrian, who says, the monuments or tombs of the kings of Assyria are said to be placed

among these marshes. As in the present day, the reed tombs of a sheik, or holy man, are often to be seen islanded amidst a wilderness of water and of aquatic vegetation."

Here, then, is the sum of human greatness! The mighty of the earth, alike with "the mean man," are brought low, and mingle with the dust.

"Proud royalty! how altered in thy looks!
How blank thy features, and how wan thy hue!
Son of the morning! whither art thou gone?
Where hast thou hid thy many-spangled head,
And the majestic menace of thine eyes,
Felt from afar? Pliant and powerless now,
Like new-born infant bound up in his swathes;
Or victim tumbled flat upon his back,
That throbs beneath the sacrificer's knife.
Mute must thou bear the strife of little tongues,
And coward insults of the base-born crowd,
That grudge a privilege thou never hadst,
But only hoped for in the peaceful grave,
Of being unmolested and alone.
Arabia's gums and odoriferous drugs,
And honours by the herald duly paid,
In mode and form, e'en to a very scruple;
Oh cruel irony! these come too late;
And only mock whom they are meant to honour.
Surely there's not a dungeon slave, that's buried
In the highway, unshrouded and uncoffined,
But lies as soft, and sleeps as sound as he.
Sorry pre-eminence of high descent,
Above the baser born to rot in state."—BLAIR.

Who could look upon the tombs of the kings of Assyria, buried in the solitude of these marshes, and thirst for human greatness? Rather, they would teach the beholder its vanity, and cause him to exclaim with the psalmist,

"There be many that say, Who will show us any good?
Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.
Psa. iv. 6.
"Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity;
And quicken thou me in thy way."—*Psa.* cxix. 27.

LAWS.

The laws of the Assyrians and Babylonians, as may be inferred from the preceding article, were vague, and entirely dependent on the caprice or pleasure of their monarchs. According to Herodotus, however, there was one law, which appears to have been irrevocably fixed. This law was calculated to increase the number of the inhabitants, by obliging

all, especially the meaner classes, to marry. But though this law was calculated to increase the power of the empire, it was, nevertheless, one of the most unjust, cruel, and unnatural enactments that has ever been enacted by any state, ancient or modern; for, by one clause, it deprived a parent of exercising his natural right of bestowing his own daughters in marriage. This right was assumed for the king and his officers; and, as soon as they were arrived at the age of maturity, they were exposed in some public place for sale. The most beautiful were put up first, and the highest bidder became the purchaser. When all who had charms were disposed of, the money that was raised by this sale was applied in behalf of some of those to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. These were offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poor, who valued money more than beauty, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the rich were in overbidding for the beautiful. The result of this was, that their females were all disposed of in marriage: the poor, however, were obliged to give security, that they would take those they had chosen, before they received the sum they agreed to take with them.

Concerning many other customs, and even laws, as recorded by Herodotus and Strabo, we forbear to speak, recalling to memory the sentiments of the apostle with reference to the works of darkness committed by the heathen world: "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret," Ephes. v. 12. Those which we have recorded, as done openly, are sufficient to make the Christian blush for the honour of humanity, and to call forth the deepest gratitude of Christian parents and their children, for their privileges; which, however, are attended with corresponding duties and responsibilities. But it is to be feared, that many professing Christian parents neglect their duty in this particular. Too many sacrifice the happiness of their offspring at the shrine of the god of this world, Mammon! An old writer, looking at this evil in a worldly point of view, and aiming a blow at its root, says, "There be two towns in the land of Liege, called Bovins and Dinant, the inhabitants whereof bear an almost incredible hatred one to another; and yet their children, notwithstanding, usually marry together: and the reason is, because their is none other good town or wealthy place near them. Thus parents, for a little pelf, often marry their children to those whose persons they hate; and thus, union betwixt families is not made but the breach rather

widened the more." To borrow a figure from the same writer, grace and goodness should be the principal loadstone in the affections of those who unite in holy matrimony; for love which hath ends will have an end; whereas, that which is founded on true virtue, will always continue. That is a wise injunction of the apostle, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers," 2 Cor. vi. 14. Neither gold nor honours should tempt the Christian parent to endanger the everlasting welfare of the souls of their offspring by such unequal marriages; for the word of God repeatedly warns them against such connexions, and the severest judgments follow them.

PUNITIVE LAWS.

Like the general laws, so were the punishments among the Assyrians and Babylonians, vague and uncertain. They were, indeed, arbitrary and rigorous, in proportion to the tyrant's present rage and fury. Nothing is recorded of them by profane historians; but it may be gathered from the prophecies of Daniel, that beheading, cutting in pieces, turning the offender's house into a dunghill, and burning in a fiery furnace, were sentences ordered by the kings of Babylon; and hence it may be inferred that these were the usual modes of punishment. See Dan. i. 10; ii. 5; iii. 19.

MILITARY POWER.

Little is known concerning the military force of the empire of Assyria, except that it was very great. Thus when Sennacherib invaded Jerusalem, it is recorded that the angel of the Lord smote in the Assyrian camp "a hundred and four score and five thousand" men, Isa. xxxvii. 36. That they were noted for their power in horses and chariots is plain, from Isa. v. 26—28, where the prophet predicts the executioners of God's judgments upon his people in these emphatic words:—

> "And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far,
> And will hiss unto them from the end of the earth:
> And, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly:
> None shall be weary nor stumble among them;
> None shall slumber nor sleep;
> Neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed,
> Nor the latchet of their shoes be broken:
> Whose arrows are sharp,

And all their bows bent,
Their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint,
And their wheels like a whirlwind."

Here, says Dr. Henderson, the rapidity with which the Assyrians advanced is beautifully expressed, by comparing the revolution of the wheels of their war-chariots to that of the sudden whirlwind, which seizes upon all within its reach, and rolling it up with indescribable velocity, bears it into the air. The allusion to the hardness of the hoofs of the horses, probably arises from the fact that the ancients did not shoe their horses by nailing iron-plates to the bottom of the hoof, as in our own country. They had, indeed, shoes of leather, gold, and silver, but these enclosed the whole hoof, and were only used on particular occasions. Xenophon, who, in his Cyropædia, represents the Babylonians in his day as supplying 20,000 horse and 200 chariots, to the force opposed to Cyrus, lays much stress on this point, observing that the good hoof is hard and hollow, and when struck on the ground, sounds like a cymbal. Homer continually uses the epithet, "brazen-hoofed," to the horses of his heroes, which proves that he considered hard hoofs to be requisite in war-horses.

COMMERCE.

The trade of this ancient people is no where described at large, but that it must have been considerable, cannot be doubted, especially when Babylon was in the meridian of her glory. This mighty city was, as it were, situated in the midst of the old world, and by the medium of the Euphrates and Tigris, had ready communication with the western and northern parts, as it had also with the eastern, by means of the Persian Gulf. Babylon, moreover, was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but it also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own, to exchange with its neighbours. In Josh. vii. 21, a "goodly Babylonish garment," or, literally, "a mantle of Shinar," of which Babylon was, in after ages, the famous and dominant capital, is mentioned, which indicates that this district had early acquired the reputation for its manufactured robes, for which its capital was famous among the ancients. That the Babylonians had shipping of their own, may be inferred from the fact, that the prophet denominates their city a "city of waters;" and the description of the fall of Babylon, in the book of Revelation, under which figure the mystical Babylon, Rome, is represented, proves at

once the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, that the Babylonians had an extensive commerce, and that they abounded in shipping. "The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon,—and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried,—Alas, alas that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate," Rev. xviii. 11—19.

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

In several passages of Scripture we read of magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and Chaldeans, in connexion with the government of the Assyrian empire. This refers to the priests, who appear to have formed the learned caste; occupying the same station as the priests did in Egypt. It does not seem clear, however, that they possessed the same power in the councils, or over the actions of the monarchs. What influence they possessed arose from their learning. This, it is probable, greatly distinguished them from the rest of the people, and caused them to be as much revered as the Egyptian priests were. They chiefly spent their time in the study of philosophy, and they were especially famous in the art of astrology, which would give them immense influence over the minds of the credulous multitude, and cause them to be regarded with deference, even by the haughty monarchs who ruled over them. That they held a conspicuous place in the empire appears evident, from the several transactions recorded in the book of Daniel, and from the fact that Isaiah notices them in his denunciations of woe upon that empire.

"Stand now with thine enchantments,
And with the multitude of thy sorceries,

Wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth;
If so be thou shalt be able to profit,
If so be thou mayest prevail.
Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels.
Let now the astrologers, the stargazers,
The monthly prognosticators,*
Stand up and save thee
From these things that shall come upon thee.
Behold, they shall be as stubble;
The fire shall burn them;
They shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame:
There shall not be a coal to warm at,
Nor fire to sit before it.
Thus shall they be unto thee with whom thou hast laboured,
Even thy merchants, from thy youth:
They shall wander every one to his quarter;
None shall save thee."—*Isa.* xlvii. 12—15.

Profane history bears its testimony to the truth of the sacred writings. Diodorus says, that the Chaldeans were greatly given to divination, and the foretelling of future events; and that they employed themselves, either by purifications, sacrifices, or enchantments, in averting evils, and procuring good fortune and success. The art of divination was performed by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims. They interpreted dreams and prodigies; and the presages which they derived from the inspection of the entrails of sacrifices, were received as oracles by the multitude. The same author states, that their knowledge and science were traditionally transmitted from father to son, thus proceeding on long established rules, and that they held the world to be eternal, having neither beginning nor end. They maintained however, that all things were ordered, and that the beautiful fabric of the universe was supported, by Divine Providence, and the motions of the heavens performed by some unseen and overruling power. It was from their long observations of the stars, and their knowledge of their motions, that they professed to foretell future events. The Sun, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter, they denominated "interpreters," as being principally concerned in making known to man the will of the gods. They maintained that future events were foreshown by their rising, setting, and colour: presaging hurricanes, tempestuous rains, droughts, famines, appearances of comets, eclipses, earthquakes, and every circumstance which

* These probably were men who marked out for every year the events which, as they pretended, were to occur in each month of that year, after the manner of our ancient almanack makers. Such a custom was both ancient and oriental.

was thought to bode good or evil to nations, kings, and private individuals. Like modern astrologers, they held also that the planets in their courses through the twelve signs, into which the divided they visible heavens, possessed an influence, either good or bad, on men's nativities; so that from a consideration of their several natures, and respective positions, it might be known what should befall them in after life. Several remarkable coincidences are mentioned by ancient historians to have occurred between their prognostications and events, but they partake too much of the fabulous to be admitted into these pages. They are as incredible as the number of years during which the Chaldeans allege that their predecessors were devoted to this study; for when Alexander was in Asia, they reckoned up 470,000 years since they first began to observe the motions of the stars, a circumstance which fully proves their disposition for the marvellous.*

The immense amount of mischief which the study of this vain science gave rise to cannot be estimated. One of the greatest evils which arose from it, was that of idolatry. From the motions and the regularity of the heavenly bodies, they inferred that they were either intelligent beings of themselves, or that they were each under the power of a presiding intelligence. Hence the origin of Sabiism, or the worship of the host of heaven. Their observations led them first to judicial astrology, and then to make images of those intelligences, which they imagined either animated the celestial orbs, or guided their motions. The highest object of regard would be that most glorious of all orbs—the sun. Hence it is supposed, that Belus was the sun itself, with the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians; or the Baal Shemain, or Lord of the

* Dr. Hales seems to set this statement in its proper light. He says: "Cicero represents the foolish and arrogant pretensions of the Chaldeans to a series of recorded observations of the stars for 470,000 years, in round numbers. Diodorus is more particular, and raises it to 473,000 years before Alexander's expedition into Asia. The correct number is somewhat more, 473,040 years; the additional forty years being omitted by Diodorus, as insignificant in so great an amount, upon the same principle that even the 3,000 (fortunately preserved by Diodorus) were omitted by Cicero. But this correct cycle of 473,040 years was evidently formed by the multiplication of two factors; the square of the Chaldean Saros, $18+18=324$ years, and the Nobonassarean or Sothiacal period of 1,460 years. The square of eighteen seems to have been employed, in order to furnish a larger period, approximating more nearly to the true lunar motions than the Saros itself, or rather its deficient value eighteen years, neglecting the eleven days over."

Heavens, with those nations dwelling in the vicinity of Palestine. If this supposition be correct, then the image of Belus would be that of the sun, and the tower of Belus would be dedicated to that luminary. Accordingly, we are told, that there was a sacellum, or small chapel, on the summit of the tower, where his image was kept, and where he was worshipped.

This form of worship prevailed, from all that appears, in the days of Job, whose trials were, it is believed, within that period in which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived. In reference to this mode of worship, the writer of the instructive book of Job says:—

"If I beheld the sun when it shined,
Or the moon walking in brightness;
And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
Or my mouth hath kissed my hand:
This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge:
For I should have denied the God that is above."
Job xxxi. 26—28.

It would not appear, however, that the Chaldeans or Assyrians bowed down to the heavenly hosts as God; at least, in their first stages of defection from their Maker. When men first became idolaters, they had not forgotten the existence of God, but had become unmindful of his character and attributes. They were aware of his existence; but they saw him not as Adam and Eve did in their state of innocence, and imagining that he was too high and distant to concern himself in the affairs, or in the management of the world on which they lived, they concluded that he must have left these small matters to beings greatly inferior to himself, but higher than man in their nature and existence. They sought for these, and beholding the sun when it shined, and the moon walking in brightness, and the planetary bodies moving unerringly onward in their courses, they believed them to be the regent governors, who took an immediate interest in their concerns, and turned to them in prayer. They esteemed them as mediators between God and them; for that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed to have been a notion held by mankind from the beginning. "Conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity," says Prideaux, "and unable to conceive how it was possible for them of themselves alone, to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and Supreme Governor of all things, they considered him as too high and too pure, and

themselves as too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address to him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address themselves unto him by mediators of their own choosing; and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that those intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them; and, therefore, the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their mediators, who were to mediate for them with the Supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as such; and here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world." This was the first step in the defection of man from his Creator. And now no longer practically acknowledging "the God that is above," the knowledge even of his existence faded from the popular mind. For though some might know, by reason or tradition, that there was one great God, they knew it but obscurely and erroneously, and they also retained the original error, believing him to be too high to be honoured by adoration, or moved by prayer; and hence the most stupid idolatry usurped the place of true religion.

At first, the sun and moon were worshipped by the Chaldeans in the open air, and their altars blazed high upon the mountains. At length, symbolical representations and statues were introduced, as supplying their place when absent, temples were erected, gods multiplied; and the actual worship of the heavenly bodies, from the one end of heaven to the other was adopted, as fear, avarice, ambition, or imposture might dictate. Under the influences of these causes it was that these first idolaters began to furnish the *Sacella*, tabernacles or temples, with images, and to erect the same under trees, and upon the tops of mountains; and from hence it was that they assembled themselves together, to worship the hosts of heaven, to hope for all good from them, to dread all evil as proceeding from

them, and to honour and fear them; regardless of Him, by the word of whose mouth they were created.

Such appears to have been the rise and progress of idolatry, such the original doctrines of Sabiism, as fabricated by the Chaldean priests, adopted by the Assyrians and Babylonians, and finally by all the nations of the east.

> "Oh, that men,
> Canst thou believe, should be so stupid grown,—
> While yet the patriarch lived who scap'd the flood,
> As to forsake the living God, and fall
> To worship their own work in wood and stone
> For gods?" MILTON.

But the evil did not stop here. As man departed further from his God, he seems to have hewn out to himself idols of a more ignoble kind, till at length the very dead were deified. This, however, did not take place till idolatry had attained its height. Josephus says, that the first instance of the kind was amongst the Syrians of Damascus, who deified Benhadad, and Hazael, his successor. Now, Adad, or Hadad, was the name of the sun with that people, and Benhadad signified the "son of the sun;" and from this it would appear, that the sun was the primary object of their worship, as it was with their neighbours, the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and that afterwards the deified Benhadad usurped those honours; or, that they were given to him by his subjects under the belief that he was amongst them, what the sun was amongst the moon and stars. In like manner, it has been supposed that Belus, among the Assyrians, may have been in after ages a deified hero. This honour has, indeed, been ascribed to Pul, the founder of their political grandeur, he being, as will be seen in a future page, the first Assyrian monarch who extended his conquests west of the Euphrates. Nothing is more probable than this; for it was finally the belief of star worshippers, that the souls of their monarchs, when they ceased to animate their bodies, went to the sun, or illuminated some star in heaven, and they were consequently deified upon this opinion of their migration. Such being the lamentable fact, it is more than probable that this warrior king underwent an apotheosis, or had the same divine honours paid to him in after ages, that were in former days given to the orb, whither, they asserted, he was ascended. Preparatory to this, he would have been represented as the delegated god of Belus, or the sun upon earth. Accordingly, Herodotus tells us,

that in the temple of Belus, there were two gods and two altars, both of gold: one larger and one smaller; that on the lesser altar none but sucking victims were offered; and on the greater, none but such as were full grown. These sucking victims may denote that the sun is the nourisher of all living creatures; and the full grown may signify that, being thus perfected by the nourishing power of Belus, he committed them to the care of his deified vicegerent on earth.

In accordance with the view here taken of the religion of the Chaldean priests, the author of the book of Wisdom, in speaking of idols, says: "By the vain glory of men they entered into the world.—Thus in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandments of kings. Whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present," Wisd. xiv. 14, 16, 17.

This was certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who aspired, like the fallen angels, to be gods. The same author assigns two other cogent reasons for this practice, which must have powerfully operated with the former: "For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices," ver. 15. "Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition. For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion. And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured as a man. And this was an occasion to deceive the world: for men, serving either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name," ver. 18—21.

From what has been said, therefore, it appears that idolatry had its first rise among the Chaldean priests, and that the vain science of astrology was its parent. The evils to which it gave rise, are well described by the author before quoted: "For whilst they slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revellings of strange rites; they kept neither lives nor marriages any longer undefiled: but either one slew another traitorously, or grieved him by adul-

tery. So that there reigned in all men without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury, disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of kind, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness. For the worshiping of idols not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end of all evil," ver. 23, 27.

Contrasting such a state of things as this with those that present themselves to our view, under the influence of the Christian religion, how ought we to admire and prize those doctrines which produce the good fruits of holiness. Sitting under our vine, and under our fig trees, we can live in peace, and, walking abroad in the world, can adopt the language of the poet, with reference to the beautiful scenes which nature presents to our view,

> "And smiling say, My Father made them all."—Cowper.

But our happiness, under the benign influences of revealed religion, does not stop here. If we are Christians indeed, we are not only raised in the scale of nature, in a moral point of view, but in a spiritual; not only profited for time, but for eternity. Like Enoch of old, who, by faith, was translated, that he should not see death, we can "walk with God," and stretching our thoughts beyond the narrow bounds of time, and looking up to heaven, in humble dependence upon a crucified Redeemer, can say,

> "There is my house and portion fair,
> My treasure and my heart is there,
> And my abiding home."

For such as by faith are united to Christ, by whose blood they are justified, and by whose Spirit, through the means of the word, that immortal seed of regeneration, they are sanctified, are reserved unto life everlasting, and have mansions prepared for them in the eternal world. See John xiv. 1—3; 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.

CASTE.

As the Chaldeans were peculiarly the men of learning, and the priesthood in the Assyrian empire, so the Babylonians, properly so called, according to some authors, applied themselves to the arts and sciences, in which they excelled, as their manufactures, buildings, etc., testify. Besides these, there

were other subordinate sects, but nothing is known of their constitution. Herodotus says, that three of them fed upon nothing but fish, and therefore infringed a sacred law among the Babylonians, who abstained from such food, out of respect to their great goddess. As these tribes, however, lived in the fens, where no corn grew, it may not, as Strabo observes, have been upon a religious principle, but out of necessity, that they departed from the usages of their countrymen. Strabo relates something more extraordinary of the inhabitants of Borsippa, where the bats being much larger than in other places, they salted them for food; but whether this practice proceeded from want, or superstition, is not related.

This is all that can be safely narrated of the constitution of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians; for the statements of writers in general on this subject, are so vague and uncertain, that there are no satisfactory data on which to form correct opinions; and to record those which are palpably fabulous, forms no part of our plan. The writer and the reader of ancient history are constantly reminded, that they have no certain data, excepting as to what is derived from, or confirmed by the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF ASSYRIA.

PART I.—ASSYRIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE Assyrian empire was one of the most powerful that has ever been established upon the face of the earth. By it, the nations around were long kept in awe, ruled by its iron rod. It grew so mighty, indeed, that its monarchs, eventually, lifted up with pride, forgot that they were mortal, and arrogated to themselves divine honours.

Some authors contend that there were two Assyrian empires, and that Nimrod founded the first, which subsisted, in more or less extent and glory, upwards of 1450 years. The evidence, however, on which this proposition rests, is very slender. It is highly improbable that empires should have been in existence at so early a date after the dispersion. Kingdoms might, and were, but not empires. Besides, Nimrod was not an Assyrian, or descendant of Asshur, the son of Shem, but a Hamite, or Cushite. Ham, his grandfather, or, at least, his son Mizraim, settled in Egypt; others of his sons in Phenicia and Palestine, and Nimrod's brethren of the Cushite race appear to have settled in Arabia, and perhaps in India. Neither the writings of sacred nor profane historians relate that Babel was a city of consequence, till it was rendered such by Semiramis and Nebuchadnezzar. It is not probable that empires should have been at that early age of great importance. But a few years before, mankind had been involved in one general destruction, for their iniquities, eight souls excepted. And prior to the date at which it is said Nimrod founded his empire, the dispersion took place, and the souls then living were, as the sacred historian tells us, scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth, Gen. xi. 9. It may be safely asserted, therefore, that this city, like others in the east, rose gradually to the enormous magnitude it at-

tained, as ages rolled on, and the empire of which it was the capital rose to its height of prosperity; just as the metropolis of our own country has arisen, as its population, wealth, and power increased.

It is said, Gen. x. 11, "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh;" that is, being driven out of Shinar, or Babylonia, he went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh. Who, then, is so likely to have founded Nineveh as Asshur himself? It is not even suggested in the Bible, that Nimrod went forth into the land of Assyria, and built Nineveh; but we read, Isa. xxiii. 13, that Asshur founded Babel.

"Behold the land of the Chaldeans;
This people was not,
Till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness:
They set up the towers thereof,
They raised up the palaces thereof;
And he brought it to ruin."

The fair conclusions to be deduced from Scripture concerning Nimrod and Asshur are, that the former founded a small, but a short-lived kingdom, and that the latter founded Nineveh, which, in after ages, became the capital of the Assyrian empire.

The chronology, and the actions of the ancient Assyrian kings, as recorded by Ctesias, and, after him, Diodorus Siculus, and many modern authors, abound with glaring improbabilities and exaggerations, such as have never been surpassed in the most notorious forgeries, or in the most extravagant romances of oriental writers. To have performed such actions as they ascribe to Ninus, who is represented by them as the founder of the empire, he must have possessed an empire wider in extent than any that has yet existed, and this empire must have been started into being at once, like the goodly globe on which we live. Years must pass away before the infant becomes a man; and ages must have rolled onward, before an empire could have stood forth so prominently, as that of the Assyrians is said to have done in the days of its founder, Ninus. It is wonderful how such monstrous fictions could pass for history with men of understanding as the Greeks were; it is still more wonderful, that they should have been seriously believed by some of the greatest men in the world of literature, whether of ancient or modern times. But such is the nature of man, that, wandering from the source of truth, he is easily led astray, easily seduced into errors. Learning and talent, then, avails him but little; for

our judgment, like all our other faculties, is warped by our forefather's transgression—by our departure from original righteousness.

Upon the particulars of such statements it is unnecessary to dwell minutely. The only safe guide for us to follow in this matter is the book of revelation. The sacred page does not, indeed, give us a definite history of other nations, but introduces them only so far as some historical facts are connected with the history of the Hebrew race, or with the Jews considered as a nation. In this way the following facts are discovered, which will throw a light upon the pretended antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and prove that it was neither so ancient, nor so extensive, as Ctesias and his followers would have us believe.

In the book of Genesis, chap. xiv., we read concerning the nations dwelling on the east of the Euphrates, that, shortly after Abram migrated to the land of Canaan, Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, and Tidal, king of Gojim, or nations, made a successful incursion into the territory called Pentapolis, or the five cities of the plain, which were involved in the overthrow of Sodom, and where now is the Dead Sea. We read further, that the kings of these cities served Chedorlaomer, and his confederates, who carried their conquests this time to the shores of the Red Sea, and the frontiers of Egypt, and returned, carrying Lot and his family captive. The sacred narrative goes on to say, that Abram discovering the situation of his nephew, armed his servants, 318 in number, pursued Chedorlaomer, and his allies, and defeated them, rescuing Lot, and recovering the spoils.

From this may be gathered, that Elam was an independent monarchy, and that Amraphel, king of Shinar, if not his vassal, was his ally. Now, the name Shinar, in Scripture, is usually applied to Babylonia; it was, therefore, in those early ages, a distinct kingdom from, and dependent, not on Assyria, but Elam. But if Nimrod, Ninus, and Semiramis, had founded, and reigned over so extensive an empire as some have asserted, this could not have been the case; for Elam itself, and the other nations mentioned in connexion with it, must have been provinces of that empire.

In the days of Abraham, and for ages after, the Canaanites were an independent race, and from the expulsion of that people, down to the time of the "sweet singer of Israel," no mention is made of an Assyrian empire. There is a pro-

found silence, indeed, throughout the whole of the sacred narrative, and in the writings of the prophets, concerning the empire of Assyria, till after the days of Amos, about B. C. 793. It is true, the writings of this prophet state that "the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir," Amos i. 5; and that as God had brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, so had he brought the Syrians from Kir, Amos ix. 7: but all that can be discovered from this is, that Kir was the ancient abode of the Assyrians, before they began to figure in the historic page. After the days of Amos, all the prophets make mention of Assyria as a powerful empire, and we read first of a king of Assyria by name, 2 Kings xv. 19; and the parallel passage, 1 Chron. v. 26, where it is recorded: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day." From this is discerned, therefore, that Pul was the first Assyrian king of any great political power, and that the Assyrian empire was raised up by the Almighty, to punish the children of Israel for their iniquities. It follows, then, that the story told us of the remote antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and of there being two empires, is a fiction. There was only one, and that one had not its origin till about the days of Pul, 790 years B. C., who invaded and rendered tributary the kingdom of Israel in the days of Menahem. This is all the information which Scripture gives concerning the antiquity, etc., of the Assyrian empire; and this is all that can be safely relied upon in this matter. And why should it be thought needful to carry inquiries beyond the bounds where correct data are given, and to lose time in discussing what is confessedly fictitious!

PUL.

It is recorded in the preceding section, that Pul is the first king of Assyria mentioned by name in Scripture. The Scripture dynasty of Assyrian kings, however, begins with that unnamed "king of Nineveh," who repented at the prophecy of Jonah, about B. C. 821. Dr. Hales thinks it probable that Pul was the son of this monarch. Be that as it may, Pul was the first king of Assyria who began to interfere in the affairs of the western states. Hitherto the Assyrian

power appears to have lain dormant in that direction. But "God stirred up the spirit of Pul," and he invaded Israel, B. C. 770, in the twentieth year of his reign. The act is thus recorded in Scripture: "And Pul the king of Assyria came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him." [For Menahem had usurped the crown of Israel in the same year, and therefore needed protection.] "And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land," 2 Kings xv. 19, 20; 1 Chron. v. 26.

It is considered, by the best authorities, that Pul was the Assyrian Belus; that he shared a joint worship with the original Belus, or the sun; and that the temple of Belus, at Babylon, was dedicated to both, Babylon being originally a province of the Assyrian empire. Dr. Hales conceives, that he was the second Belus of the Greeks, Nimrod, or Ninus, being the first, who built the temple of that name at Babylon; and, like the first, was deified after his death. It is probable, that he attracted their attention by his excursions into Syria and Palestine. He died B. C. 747.

TIGLATH-PILESER.

This conqueror seems to have been the son of Pul. Sir Isaac Newton conjectures, and Mr. Hales concurs in the conjecture, that at Pul's death his dominions were divided between his two sons; when the sovereignty of Assyria was given to the elder, Tiglath-pileser; and the prefecture of Babylon to the younger, Nabonassar, from the date of whose government the celebrated era of that name took its rise, B. C. 747. The celebrated Semiramis, says the latter author, who built the walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, might have been either the mother or the wife of Nabonassar.

In the seventh year of his reign, B. C. 740, Tiglath-pileser found an opportunity of interfering in the disturbances that broke out in Syria and Palestine. The cause of this interference is thus narrated by the sacred historian: "Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day.

So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin," 2 Kings xvi. 5—9.

This act fulfilled the prophecies of Amos:

"And the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord."—*Amos* i. 5.

"Have not I brought up............the Syrians from Kir?"—*Amos* ix. 7.

But the sacred historian says of Tiglath-pileser, that he distressed Ahaz, and strengthened him not, 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. At this time, indeed, he carried away the Transjordanite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, captives to Media, where he planted them in Halah, Habor, and on the river Gozan, 1 Chron. v. 26; and also the other half of Manasseh in Galilee, 2 Kings xv. 29, which acts were also in accordance with the sure word of prophecy:

"I hate, I despise your feast days,
And I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.
Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings,
I will not accept of them:
Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.
Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs;
For I will not hear the melody of thy viols.
But let judgment run down as waters,
And righteousness as a mighty stream.
Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings
In the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?
But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch
And Chiun your images,
The star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.
Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus."
Amos v. 21—27.

Or, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles:

"I will carry you away beyond Babylon."—*Acts* vii. 43.

And again:

"Now therefore hear thou the word of the Lord: Thou sayest, Prophesy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac. Therefore thus saith the Lord;

Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city,
And thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword,
And thy land shall be divided by line;
And thou shalt die in a polluted land:
And Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land."
Amos vii. 16, 17.

Compare also 2 Kings xvi. 5—9, and Isa. viii. 1—11.

SHALMANESER, OR, SHALMAN.

This prince is simply called Shalman in Hos. x. 14. He was the successor of Tiglath-pileser, and, according to Dr. Hales, his reign extended from 726 to 714 B. C.

In the fifth year of his reign, B. C. 722, the king of Israel having rebelled against him, Shalmaneser invaded Israel, and besieged Samaria, which he took, B. C. 719; and fulfilling the prophecies of Amos and the other prophets, referred to in a previous page, he transported the chief of the people of the seven western tribes beyond Assyria, and planted them in Media, 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6, whither his father had transplanted the Transjordanite, or eastern tribes. Thus was completed the captivity of the ten revolted tribes, in the course of twenty-one years, that is, from 740 to 719 B. C.

On the policy of the Assyrian monarchs in transplanting their captives thither, Dr. Hales remarks: "The geographical position of Media was wisely chosen for the distribution of the great body of the captives; for, first, it was so remote, and so impeded and interspersed with great mountains and numerous and deep rivers, that it would be extremly difficult for them to escape from this natural prison, and return to their own country. And, second, they would also be opposed in their passage through Kir, or Assyria Proper, not only by the native Assyrians, but also by their enemies, the Syrians, transplanted there before them. And, third, the superior civilization of the Israelites, and their skill in agriculture and in the arts, would tend to civilize and improve those wild and barbarous regions. And, fourth, they could safely be allowed more liberty, and have their minds more at ease than if they were subject to a more rigorous confinement nearer to their native country."

The causes for the captivity of Israel are stated, 2 Kings xvii. 7—23, where the judgments, says the author of the Kings of Judah and Israel,* are fully vindicated, while the

*This work is published by the Religious Tract Society, and the reader is referred to it as containing the Jewish history of this period.

sins of Israel, and the extent to which they carried their idolatry, are strikingly delineated.

It may be mentioned, that the tribe of Naphtali is said to have been carried away by Tiglath-pileser, 2 Kings xv. 29. In the book of Tobit, however, the writer who was of that tribe, ascribes his captivity to Enemessar, or Shalmaneser. See Tobit i. 1, 2.

Besides the final subversion of the kingdom of Israel by this prince, Josephus preserves a passage from the archives of Tyre, from which it appears that the Assyrian king overrun Phenicia also, and received the submission of the whole country except Tyre. The elder Tyre, (Palæ-tyrus,) Sidon, Acre, and other towns, seem to have been glad of the opportunity of exchanging the yoke of their neighbour for that of a foreign power; for they assisted the Assyrians with a fleet of sixty ships, which the Tyrians defeated with only twelve ships. Upon this, Shalmaneser advanced to Tyre, and kept it in a state of blockade for five years, when his death occasioned the undertaking to be discontinued. He was succeeded in his kingdom by

SENNACHERIB,

whose reign, according to Hales, extended from 714 to 710 B. C. As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed a demand which had been exacted by his father from Hezekiah, king of Judah, and upon his refusal to comply, he declared war against him, and invaded Judah with a mighty army. Hezekiah acknowledged his offence, and offered to submit to any tribute the king should impose upon him. Accordingly, he paid the stipulated sum of 300 talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, (in the whole amounting to 285,812*l.* sterling,) to raise which, he exhausted the royal and sacred treasuries, and stripped off the gold with which the doors and pillars of the temple were overlaid, which, to this pious king, must have been a grievious necessity indeed, 2 Kings xviii. 13—16.

The Assyrian monarch, however, regarding neither the sanctity of oaths nor treaties, still pushed on his conquests. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and Jerusalem was reduced to the utmost extremity. While he himself was ravaging the whole country, and reducing the important frontier towns toward Egypt, (which he determined to invade, because So, king of Egypt, had encouraged Hoshea to revolt,

with promises of assistance he did not perform, and now, perhaps, renewed to Hezekiah, as may be gathered from 2 Kings xviii. 21,) he sent three of his generals, Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, with a great host, to besiege Jerusalem, and to summon Hezekiah to surrender. They came to the very walls, and there not only ridiculed his expectations from Egypt, but his faith in Jehovah. They also exhorted the people to desert their prince, and promised them plenty and security, under the rule of their master; and threatened utter destruction unless they submitted to his yoke, 2 Kings xviii. 17—35.

At this message from the Assyrian monarch, Hezekiah was deeply distressed. He saw that the situation of himself and people was a very critical one, and that nothing but a display of Divine power, manifested on behalf of Jerusalem, could save them. With outward tokens, therefore of humiliation, and deep emotions of godly sorrow, he repaired to the temple, accompanied by his nobles, to seek that aid. From hence he sent to solicit the intercession of the prophet Isaiah on their behalf and received an immediate reply, that Sennacherib should be constrained to depart from them, and should die by the sword, 2 Kings xix. 1—7; Isa. xxxviii. 1—7.

At this critical juncture, Hezekiah fell sick of the plague. He was brought to the brink of the grave, and a message from God bade him prepare to leave the world. In this distress, Hezekiah again resorted to prayer, and received in answer, a declaration, that on the third day he should be perfectly restored, and that fifteen years should be added to his life. For the confirmation of his faith, the shadow of the sun was carried back ten degrees; that is, the light was protracted in a miraculous manner, in token of his recovery, 2 Kings xx. 1—11; Isa. xxxviii.

Shortly after this event, as we are told by Herodotus, the king of Assyria invaded Egypt, but without success. [See the History of the Egyptians, page 137.] His account, however, is evidently a caricature of the miraculous deliverance promised to Hezekiah, for the blasphemies of the Assyrians. "Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land," 2 Kings xix. 7. See also Isa. xxxi. 8, 9.

The rumour which Sennacherib heard, was, that Tirhakah, king of Cush, or Arabian Ethiopia, was come out to fight against him on his passage homewards, 2 Kings xix. 9.

Sennacherib was resolved to meet Tirhakah, and, through the medium of Rabshakeh, he sent a boasting letter to Hezekiah, defying the God of Israel, and threatening Jerusalem with eventual destruction, although he was now compelled to break up the siege.

The conduct of Hezekiah, when he received this letter, is very pleasing; and it would be well for Christians to follow his example in the hour of distress. He hastened to the throne of grace; he spread its contents before the Lord, and ardently besought him to interpose, for his own name's sake. His prayer prevailed. The prophet was again commissioned to confirm the promise, and to assure him of speedy relief. On that night, the promise was fulfilled. As they lay slumbering in their tents, and probably dreaming of victory and revenge, the angel of the Lord smote in the camp of the Assyrians, a hundred and eighty-five thousand men, 2 Kings xix. 35.

Sennacherib now returned to Nineveh, where, being exasperated by his defeat, he inflicted many cruelties upon his subjects, and especially upon the captive Israelites. The author of the book of Tobit thus speaks of these cruelties: "And if the king Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king. And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear. Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was there any thing left me, beside my wife Anna and my son Tobias," Tobit i. 18—20.

The cruelties of Sennacherib were not, however, long continued. As he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, (signifying "king of flight," and corresponding to Jove, the "god of flight," among the Greeks,) he was assassinated by two of his sons; who, after committing the sanguinary deed, escaped into the land of Armenia; while a third son, Esarhaddon, reigned in his stead.

The death of Sennacherib is alluded to, Isa. xxxi. 8, where it is said,

"Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man;
And the sword, not of a man, shall devour him."

At this juncture, when the Assyrians were weakened by so

great a blow, the Babylonians and the Medes revolted. Merodach-baladan reigned over Babylon; and, soon after his accession, he sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, to congratulate him on his recovery. Hezekiah was flattered by this embassy; and in the pride of his heart he made a vain display of his grandeur, and exhibited to the wondering ambassadors his palaces and treasures. For this vanity, Isaiah was commissioned to reprove him, and to denounce a woe upon him and his people. The very men to whom he had paid his court were to seize upon the treasures he had exhibited, and to reduce his descendants to the most abject bondage, 2 Kings xx. 12—19.

ESARHADDON.

This king is the "great and noble Asnapper" of Ezra iv. 10; the Sargon of Isa. xx. 1; the Sarchedonus of Tobit i. 21; and the Asaradin of Ptolemy. His reign commenced, according to Dr. Hales, B. C. 710.

Esarhaddon came to his throne at a season of general rebellion and revolt of the provinces of Assyria. The Medes led the way, and, after a severe battle, regained their liberty, and retained their independence. They were followed by the Babylonians, Armenians, and others. From this cause, Esarhaddon had full employment on his hands for many years. At length, however, in the thirtieth year of his reign, or B. C. 680, he recovered Babylon, and annexed it to his former dominions.*

As soon as he had re-established his dominion, and confirmed his authority at home, Esarhaddon undertook an expedition against the states of Phenicia, Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia, to avenge his father's defeat, and to recover the revolted provinces on the western side of the Euphrates. For three years he ravaged those countries, and brought away many captives; fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, "Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot,

* The government of Babylon seems to have fallen into great disorder and confusion after Merodach-baladan; at least, if we may judge from the recurrence of five reigns and two interregnums of ten years, all in the course of twenty-nine years, preceding its reduction again under the Assyrian yoke. We are unacquainted with the story of these kings of Babylon; for their names, and that of others, the reader is referred to the table given at the conclusion of this history, from the pen of Dr. Hales, who framed it from a careful comparison of Scripture with Ptolemy's Canon of the reigns of the contemporary kings of Babylon.

three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt," Isa. xx. 3, 4.

That the country of Palestine might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria; thereby fulfilling another prophecy: "And within three-score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people," Isa. vii. 8.

This was the precise space of time which elapsed between the prediction and the event: and the people of Israel did then, B. C. 675, truly cease to be a visible nation; the remnant being mixed and confounded with other nations.

About two years after, Esarhaddon invaded and ravaged Judea; and the captains of his host took Manasseh the king alive, and bound him with fetters, and carried him away captive, with many of the nobles and people, to Babylon. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Manasseh, however, having afterwards been brought to a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

This is a lively instance of the grace of God, and true repentance. Reader, let it not pass by unimproved. We all need repentance, for "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God:" all have provoked his just wrath and indignation. How comforting, then, is the example before us, that God is merciful! and still more comforting is the assurance of the apostle, that, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," 1 John i. 9. Like Manasseh, then, return to the Lord, and that without delay; for,

"By nature's law, what may be, may be *now*;
There's no prerogative in human hours:
In human hearts what bolder thoughts can rise,
Than man's presumption on to-morrow's dawn?
Where is to-morrow? in another world.
For numbers, this is certain; the reverse
Is sure to none; and yet on this, perhaps,
This peradventure, infamous for lies,
As on a rock of adamant, we build
Our mountain hopes; spin out eternal schemes,
And, big with life's futurities, expire."—Young.

Our hopes should be fixed on Christ; for "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for

to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins," Acts v. 31. In him alone our help is found; and whoever neglects to flee to him, neglects his best interests for time and for eternity.

Esarhaddon was a great and prosperous prince. He appears not only to have recovered all the revolted provinces of Assyria, except Media, but to have added thereto Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phenicia, Judea, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, unto the borders of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia; such at least, were possessed by his grandson Nabuchodonosor, as may be gathered from Judith i. 6—10.

Esarhaddon is ranked by Ptolemy, in his Canon, among the Babylonian kings, probably because he made it his chief residence during the last thirteen years of his reign, which he did, by way of preventing another defection. By Diodorus and Justin he is called Sardanapalus; and they confound him with the last king, Sarac, who perished in the overthrow of Nineveh, about B. C. 606; which, Dr. Hales says, is the grand error which has chiefly perplexed and embarrassed the Assyrian chronology, and given rise to the supposed double capture of Nineveh. This learned writer proves the position he here takes, thus:

1. "Athenæus relates, from Clitarchus, that Sardanapalus died of old age, after he had lost the Syrian or Assyrian empire." He lost the empire, as recorded, in his youth, but he recovered it in his age.

2. His statue was erected at Anchiale, in Cilicia, with this inscription: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes [Sennacherib,] built Anchiale, in Tarsus, in one day. Stranger, eat, drink, and play; for all other human concerns are not worth *this*;" which word *this* referred to a fillip, which the statue was in the attitude of giving with his fingers. To this inscription the apostle evidently alluded, when, writing to the Corinthians, he said, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die:" and to which he replied, in the following iambic of Menander, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," 1 Cor. xv. 32, 33. Thus intimating, from a better heathen authority, that the conversation of such sensualists as scoff at the hope of another life, is subversive not only of religion, but of sound morality.

3. Herodotus, also, so well skilled in Assyrian affairs, records the following curious incident: "Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, which were deposited in

subterraneous apartments, began, from the place where they lived, to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king: as night approached, they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose." This would demonstrate, that the second Sardanapalus could not be meant; for he perished with his treasures.

NINUS.

According to Syncellus, a prince of the name of Ninus succeeded Sardanapalus at Nineveh; and we learn from Ptolemy, that Saosduchin, who was either his son or his deputy, succeeded him also at Babylon. According to Dr. Hales, they began their reign B. C. 667. Nothing is known conceaning this Ninus: he was succeeded in his empire by

NABUCHODONOSOR,

or Saosduchin, whose accession is dated B. C. 658.

In the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, he declared war against Arphaxad, or Phraortes, king of the Medes, and he summoned all the states of his mighty empire to his aid. The western and southern provinces of Cilicia, Phenicia, Judea, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt, refused to obey the summons, and to furnish him with troops, and they even insulted and ill-treated his ambassadors. This caused a delay of five years in his projected invasion of Media, at the end of which time, B. C. 641, he took the field, when he defeated the Median army near Ragau, or Rages, took Arphaxad prisoner, and slew him the same day. After this, he stormed Ecbatana, his capital, demolished its towers, and ravaged its palaces, and then returned to Nineveh, where he feasted his troops for four months.

Flushed with this victory, in the ensuing spring, B. C. 640, Nabuchodonosor sent Holofernes with an army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, to chastise the states that had refused their assistance in the Median war. The commands which Holofernes received were of the most rigorous nature; and, acting upon them, he proved himself a cruel conqueror. He ravaged and reduced Cilicia and Syria, and part of Arabia, Ammon, and Edom; destroying with a high hand the fair fruits of the earth, and smiting the inhabitants with the edge of the sword.

These severe measures awed the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, and of all the sea-coast unto Azotus and Askelon. In the spirit of fear, therefore, they sent ambassadors to Holofernes, to solicit peace. Holofernes granted it; but he put garrisons into their towns, and obliged them to furnish recruits for his army. He also destroyed the barriers on their frontiers, and cut down their sacred groves; and he destroyed "all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god," Judith iii. 8.

The little state of Judea, it would appear, still preserved its independence. Accordingly, after Holofernes had spent a full month in the plain of Esdraelon, on its confines, waiting to collect the carriages of his army, he encamped in the valley over against Bethulia, the key to the hill country of Judea, with an army increased to 170,000 foot, resolving to reduce it to the allegiance of Nabuchodonosor.

The particulars of the seige of Bethuliah, and its final deliverance by the heroine Judith, with the death of Holofernes, and defeat of his hosts, are recorded in the book that bears her name; but as that book is of somewhat doubtful authority, the details are here passed over.

Nabuchodonosor died about four years after, or B. C. 636; and he was succeeded by the last king of Nineveh,

SARAC, OR SARDANAPALUS.

This prince ascended the throne at a time when revolt and rebellion raged throughout the empire. The Medes once more took up arms, and they soon regained Ecbatana, and the territory they had lost. Nor did they stop here. Revenge, that evil composition of pride and cruelty, inflamed the warlike Cyaxares their king, and he attacked and defeated the Assyrians, and beseiged Nineveh.

His first attempts, however, proved abortive. He was himself attacked and defeated by a powerful Scythian army, who possessed themselves of Upper Asia, and ruled with great rigour for twenty-eight years. At the end of this time, B. C. 612, Cyaxares massacred their chieftains at a banquet, and shook off their yoke.

The design which Cyaxares had formed, of reducing Nineveh, was now renewed. He formed an alliance with Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who, taking advantage of the disaster of Holofernes, had also recovered his independence;

and a marriage having been concluded between Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and Amytis, the daughter of Cyaxares, the kings of Babylon and Media jointly beseiged Nineveh.

According to Justin, Sardanapalus was a most effeminate prince, who betrayed great cowardice on the revolt of the Medes, and, instead of defending his crown, fled, after a feeble resistance, to his palace, and burned himself and his treasures in a pile erected for that purpose. Diodorus, however, gives a more probable account of the downfall of Nineveh. He states, that, relying upon an ancient prophecy, that Nineshould never be taken until the river became its enemy, Sardanapalus omitted nothing that prudence and courage could suggest for his defence and security. He sent his children, and a great part of his treasures, to his intimate friend Cotta, governor of Paphlagonia, and provided ammunition and provisions for the defence and support of the inhabitants. At length, after the confederates had beseiged the city for two years without effect, an unusual overflow of the Tigris, occasioned by heavy rains in the mountains of Ararat and sources of the river, occurred, and the water rising up to the city, threw down twenty furlongs of its great wall. Sarac, struck with dismay and despair at the unexpected fulfillment of the prophecy, burned his concubines, his treasures, and himself, upon a great pile, in the court of the palace, to avoid falling into the hands of the confederate kings. The enemy entered by the breach, and sacked the city, and raised it to the ground, after it had stood for about 1,900 years. [See the section on Nineveh.]

This event took place about B. C. 606; after which, Assyria was governed by the monarchs of Babylon; for the power of Assyria was now passed away as a shadow.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF ASSYRIA.

PART II.—BABYLONIAN ADMINISTRATION.

NABOPOLASSAR.

The capture of Nineveh rewarded the Medes with independence, and the Babylonians with empire. The essential power of Assyria was, however, in the hands of the Babylonians before this transaction took place: it was only the crowning act, which placed Nabopolassar in the position of undisputed master of the empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of their neighbours. Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that, to stop their progress, he marched towards the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, and made several conquests. [See the History of the Egyptians, page 146.]

In the fourth year after this expedition, Nabopolassar, observing, that since these conquests of Nekus, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march in person against the rebels, associated his son Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire.

This young prince, B. C. 604, revenged his father's quarrel upon Nekus. He invaded Egypt, and stripped him of all his conquests, from the Euphrates to the Nile, so effectually, that the king of Egypt no more invaded his neighbours. 2 Kings xxiv. This event was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. See chap. xlvi.

The conquests of Nebuchadnezzar did not end here. He likewise entered Judea, besieged Jerusalem, and took it. At first, he caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design

to have him carried to Babylon; but being touched with pity at his repentance and affliction, he restored him to the throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Among the captives may be mentioned the prophets Daniel and Ezekiel, and Mordecai was carried thither some time afterwards. Thus was the judgment which God denounced, by the prophet Isaiah, to king Hezekiah, accomplished. See 2 Kings xx. 16—18. From this famous epoch, therefore, B. C. 605, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, must be dated the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so frequently and so emphatically foretold by Jeremiah. See Jer. xxii. 13—26; xxv. 11; xxvi. 20—23; xxix. 10; etc. etc.

Towards the end of the year, B. C. 604, Nabopolassar king of Babylon died; and he was succeeded in his empire by his son

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Berosus says, that Nebuchadnezzar having heard of his father's death while yet he was carrying on his conquests in Judea, left his Syrian, Phenician, Egyptian, and Jewish captives, with his heavy-armed troops and baggage, to the care of his friends or officers, to be conducted to Babylon, and went thither himself with a small party across the desert, to take possession of the kingdom, when he appointed the fittest stations in Babylonia to be colonized by the captives.

In the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Jehoiakim rebelled against him, whereupon his generals, who still remained in Judea, marched against him, and avenged the "innocent blood," which he and his people, following the example of Manasseh, had shed, 2 Kings xxiv. 2—4. The prophet Jeremiah had foretold his destruction in these words:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord
Concerning Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah;
They shall not lament for him, saying,
Ah my brother! or, Ah sister!
They shall not lament for him, saying,
Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!
He shall be buried with the burial of an ass,
Drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem."

Jer. xxii. 18, 19.

His doom is referred to more explicitly, also, in another passage:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim king of Judah;
He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David:
And his dead body shall be cast out
In the day to the heat,
And in the night to the frost."—*Jer.* xxxvi. 30, 31.

Accordingly, as we learn from Ezekiel, in his figurative description of Jehoiakim, as another rapacious lion's whelp, succeeding Shallum, that

"The nations set against him on every side from the provinces,
And spread their net over him:
He was taken in their pit.
And they put him in ward in chains,
And brought him to the king of Babylon."—*Ezek.* xix. 8, 9.

That is, to Nebuchadnezzar, who "bound him," says the sacred historian, "in fetters," (foretold Hab. i. 6.) "to carry him to Babylon," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. It would appear, however, that Jehoiakim died before the king of Babylon's intentions could be carried into effect; and we may conclude that he was buried "with the burial of an ass," as a just reward for "his abominations," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

Jehoiakim was succeeded in his kingdom by Jehoiachin, who had not reigned more than three months and ten days, before Nebuchadnezzar sent to his servants to besiege Jerusalem; and he surrendered himself into their hands, and was brought to Babylon, where he remained in captivity all his days, 2 Kings xxiv. 8—12; Jer. lii. 31—34. This event was predicted by Jeremiah, chap. xxii. 24—27; who, also, foretold the failure of his succession.

"O earth! earth! earth! hear the word of the Lord.
Thus saith the Lord,
Write ye this man childless,
A man that shall not prosper in his days:
For no man of his seed shall prosper,
Sitting upon the throne of David,
And ruling any more in Judah."—*Jer.* xxii. 20, 30.

When Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachin, he appointed his uncle Zedekiah to reign in his stead, and none of his family reigned any more in Judah.

Zedekiah was neither more pious nor prosperous than his predecessors. Having made an alliance with the king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the

king of Babylon. The latter however, soon chastised him for his breach of faith. He invaded Judea with a great army, took most of the cities, and besieged Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxiv. 20; xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1; Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2,

This was in the latter end of the year B. C. 588. Early the next year however, the Egyptians having made a show of coming to Zedekiah's relief the Chaldeans broke up the siege of Jerusalem, and advanced to give them battle. But the Egyptians retired, and left the Jews to their fate, as Jeremiah forewarned the messengers of Zedekiah, whom he sent to inquire of the Lord, Jer. xxxvii. 2—10. On the return of the Chaldeans to the siege, they pursued it vigorously, until after a siege of eighteen months from the beginning, they stormed the city about midnight, and put the inhabitants to the sword, 2 Kings xxv. 2—4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17—19; Jer. xxxix. 1, 2. Zedekiah, his sons, and officers, and the remnant of his army, were captured in the plains of Jericho, from whence they were conducted to the king of Babylon at Riblah, in Cœlo-Syria. Nebuchadnezzar upbraided him for his ingratitude and breach of faith; then caused his sons to be slain before his eyes, and his eyes to be put out; after which, he commanded his officers to carry him in fetters of brass to Babylon, where he died, 2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxix. 4—7: fulfilling the prophecies of the prophets Jeremiah, chap. xxxii. 4, 5; xxxiv. 3—5; and Ezekiel, chap. xii. 13.

After this, Nebuchadnezzar left Gedaliah governor of Judea, who was treacherously slain by Ishmael, and a party of ten men, who slew also the Jews and the Chaldeans that were with him at Mizpeh, his residence, and then escaped to the Ammonites, Jer. xli. 1—15.

The year after the conquest of Judea, B. C. 585, Nebuchadnezzar resolved to revenge himself upon all the surrounding nations, who had solicited the Jews to a confederacy against him, or encouraged them to rebel. Among these may be enumerated the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Arabians, Sidonians, Tyrians, Philistines, Egyptians, Abyssinians, etc., Jer. xxvii. 3; Ezek. xxv. 1—3; xxvi. 1, 2; Jer. xxxvii. 7; etc. The subjugation and desolation of these countries by this servant of the Lord, and rod of God's anger, as he is termed in Scripture, was foretold in general terms, Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10; xxvii. 7; Isa. xxiii. 15; and the punishments of each was particularly foretold by the prophets as follows:—The Ammonites, Amos i. 13—15: Ezek. xxv. 1—10; etc.

The Moabites, Ezek. xxv. 8—11; Jer. xxv. 21; xlviii. 40—47; etc. The Edomites, Amos i. 13—15; Obadiah 10—16; Jer. xlix. 17; etc. The Arabians, Jer. xxv. 24; etc. The Sidonians, Jer. xxv. 22; xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 21—23; etc. The Tyrians, Isa. xxiii. 1—15; Jer. xxv. 22; Ezek. xxvi. 7—14; xxvii. 2—36; etc. The Philistines, Jer. xxv. 20; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5. The Egyptians, Isa. xix. 4—23; Jer. xlvi. 13—26; Ezek. xxix. 2—12; xxx. 20—26; xxxii. 2—16; Joel iii. 19. The Ethiopians or Abyssinians, Isa. xviii.; Ezek. xxx. 4—11.

After having subdued the eastern and western states in the first campaign, Nebuchadnezzar commenced the siege of Old Tyre, in the second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, or B. C. 584.

It was not till after an interval of thirteen years, according to the Tyrian annals, recorded by Josephus, that the Babylonian monarch reduced this celebrated city. And during this time, his troops suffered incredible hardships. According to the prophetic declaration, indeed, in achieving this mighty enterprise, "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled," by the labours they had to undergo. Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, a mile from the shore, where they built a new city, the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the ancient city, which became a mere village. At the present moment, it is

"A rock, and waters, and a waste
Of trackless sand."

Nebuchadnezzar, during the siege of Tyre, sent Nabuzaradan with an army into Judea, to revenge the death of Gedaliah. The country, however, was so thin of inhabitants, in consequence of a recent secession to Egypt, for fear of the Chaldeans, that he carried away captive only 745 persons. This may be dated B. C. 582.

About the same time, the king of Babylon invaded Elam, or Elymais, and took Shushan, or Susa, its capital from the Medes, according to prophecy. See Jer. xxv. 25, 26; xlix. 34—38; and Ezek. xxxii. 11—24.*

As a recompence for the service which Nebuchadnezzar and his army had served against Tyre, the prophet Ezekiel

* For more extended remarks on this subject, the reader is referred to "The Captivity of the Jews," published by the Religious Tract Society.

ter than it was wont to be made, to appease the fury of the haughty monarch.

When found in the path of duty, the Christian may expect, according to promise, the guidance and protection of his God. Thus it was with these Hebrew youths. In refusing to bow down in worship to the idol, and expecting the fulfilment of Nebuchadnezzar's threat, they expressed themselves thus piously: "O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king." Their expectations were not ill-founded. Although the fire slew the men who executed the monarch's evil command, they walked in the midst of the fire, unharmed. "Did not we," said the trembling and astonished monarch, "cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God."

The haughty monarch, now humbled, called the youthful martyrs forth; and he was again compelled to confess, that the God of the Jews was superior to any other, "because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort," Dan. iii. He showed his conviction to be, at the moment, sincere, by promoting those whose destruction he had sought, in the province of Babylon, as he had done before.

Pride has a very strong foundation in the human mind. It springs from self-love, which is the most deeply rooted part of our nature, and therefore most difficult to be eradicated. In the case of the king of Babylon, it showed itself proof against miracles. But, as Solomon was inspired to write, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," Prov. xvi. 18. While Nebuchadnezzar exalted himself against Heaven, he was visited by a most remarkable dream. He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great. This tree grew, and was strong; the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit abundant: it was meat for all. The beasts of the field took refuge under it, and the fowls of heaven nestled in its branches, and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher, and a holy one came down from heaven, and cried; "Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches:

nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth: let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

This, says Dr. Hales, was a merciful warning to this great prince, when at rest in his house, and flourishing in his palace, to break off his sins, especially his inordinate pride, and his iniquities; especially his capricious cruelty, by showing mercy to the poor, that it might be a lengthening of his tranquillity, according to the sage and honest advice of his chief counsellor Daniel, after the king had told his dream, and the prophet had given the interpretation thereof from God.

The tree denoted the monarch himself, and his extensive dominions: the holy watcher, who came down from heaven, and commanded to hew the tree down, but to bind the stump of its roots that was left in the ground with a band of iron and brass, that it might be wet with the dew of heaven, and have its portion with the beasts of the field, until the expiration of seven times, or seven years, signified the decree of the Almighty, for depriving him of his reason, and banishing him from human society, to associate with the beasts of the field, until he should acknowledge the supremacy of God, who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will," Dan. iv. 4—27.

It was thus that Daniel interpreted the dream, and thus that the dream was fulfilled. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of Babylon, he exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" While the word was in his mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, "O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever

he will." In the same hour his understanding departed from him; "he was driven from men, and ate grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like the claws of a bird," Dan. iv. 28—33.

The malady by which the Divine judgment punished the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, is a subject on which opinions are much divided. Without adopting any, the following is transcribed, as one of the most probable, from the "Medica Sacra" of the learned and pious Dr. Mead. He says: "All the circumstances of Nebuchadnezzar's case agree so well with an hypochondriacal madness, that to me it appears evident that Nebuchadnezzar was seized with this distemper, and under its influence ran wild into the fields; and that, fancying himself transformed into an ox, he fed on grass, after the manner of cattle. For every sort of madness is the disease of a disturbed imagination; which this unhappy man laboured under full seven years. And through neglect of taking proper care of himself, his hair and nails grew to an uncommon length; whereby the latter growing thicker and crooked, resembled the claws of birds. Now the ancients called people affected with this kind of madness, 'wolf-men,' or 'dog-men,' because they went abroad in the night imitating wolves or dogs; particularly intent upon opening the sepulchres of the dead, and had their legs much ulcerated, either from frequent falls, or the bites of dogs. In like manner are the daughters of Prœtus related to have been mad, who, as Virgil says,

'With mimic howlings filled the fields,' Ecl. vi. 48.

For, as Servius observes, Juno possessed their minds with such a species of fury, that, fancying themselves cows, they ran into the fields, bellowed often, and dreaded the plough. Nor was this disorder unknown to the moderns: for Schenckius records a remarkable instance of it in a husbandman of Padua, who, imagining himself a wolf, attacked and even killed several people in the fields; and when at length he was taken, he persevered in declaring himself a real wolf, and that the only difference consisted in the inversion of his skin and hair. But it may be objected to our opinion, that this misfortune was foretold to the king, so that he might have prevented it by correcting his morals; and therefore it is not probable that it befel him in the course of nature. But we know that those things which God executes, either through clemency or vengeance, are frequently performed by the as-

sistance of natural causes. Thus, having threatened Hezekiah with death, and being afterwards moved by his prayers, he restored him to life, and made use of figs, laid on the tumour, as a medicine for his disease. He ordered king Herod, upon account of his pride, to be devoured by worms. And nobody doubts but that the plague, which is generally attributed to Divine wrath, most commonly owes its origin to corrupted air."

It was thus that Nebuchadnezzar spent full seven long years; an awful example of the madness of pride and ambition. At the expiration of that time, his reason returned. In the language of Holy Writ, he lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured Him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation; confessing, that all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?"

The courtiers of Nebuchadnezzar now sought to him again; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than before, inasmuch, as humbled and instructed by his sufferings, he gratefully acknowledged the signs and wonders which the most high God had wrought towards him, and praised and extolled "the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment," and who is able to abase those that walk in pride, Dan. iv. 34—37.

Having thus humbled the pride of this mighty monarch, God was pleased to show that he did not need his services here; for shortly after this, B. C. 561, Nebuchadnezzar died, and was succeeded by his son,

EVIL MERODACH,

or Ilvarodam, in Ptolemy's Canon, whose first act was the enlargement of the Jewish king Jehoiachim from his prison, whom he treated kindly all the days of his life, setting him above all the other kings that were at Babylon. See Jer. lii. 31—34; 2 kings xxv. 27—30. But the reign of Evil Merodach, or "foolish Merodach," was brief. According to Xenophon, on his accession to the throne, he set himself to form a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians westwards, and the Indians eastwards, against

the Medes; alleging, that by their union with the Persians by marriage and alliance, they were grown great and powerful, and unless they were opposed with the united force of the confederates, they would be finally subdued, separately. But the designs of Evil Merodach were frustrated. Cyrus, who was appointed general of the combined army of the Medes and Persians, by Cyaxares, his uncle and father-in-law, anticipated the threatened invasion, attacked the Babylonians, routed and pursued them to their camp, and slew Evil Merodach, B. C. 558. He was succeeded in his kingdom by

BELSHAZZAR,

his son, the common accounts of whom appear to combine with what is said of the Neriglissar of profane historians.

By the prophet Isaiah, who represents the Babylonian dynasty as the scourge of Palestine, Nebuchadnezzar is styled "a serpent," Evil Merodach "a cockatrice," and Belshazzar, "a fiery flying serpent," which is the most evil and destructive of all, Isa. xiv. 29.

The character of Belshazzar, as described prophetically by Isaiah, and the accounts of Xenophon, are found to agree. According to that writer, his barbarity was such as is rarely recorded in the annals of history. A wanton sporting with the lives and persons of his subjects, appears to have ever inflamed his breast. Thus he slew the only son of Gobryas in a transport of rage, because, at a hunting match, he hit a bear with his spear, and afterwards a lion, when the king had failed in the attempt.

The whole life of Belshazzar appears to have been one continued scene of riot and intemperance. His last, and most heinous offence, was the profanation of the sacred vessels belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, which even his grandfather and father had respected. At a great festival he made a feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before them. While at the board, surrounded by parasites and concubines, he had the audacity to send for these holy vessels, for the purpose of prostituting them to debauchery. And to aggravate sacrilege by ingratitude against the Author of all their enjoyments, he and his nobles, etc., "praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone."

But this desecration was marked by the eye of God, nor did their impiety escape punishment. As they were indulg-

ing in their mad revelry, the finger of God penned the monarch's doom upon the wall opposite his seat. His eye caught the part of the hand which wrote, and, alarmed at the apparition, and the mystical characters, he called aloud for the magicians, of whom he required an explanation, and an interpretation of the writing.

But none could read, and none interpret, and confusion prevailed in the palace, and an awful uncertainty in the bosom of all its inmates. At length, however, the queen-mother reminded her son of the eminent wisdom of Daniel, who had been long despised, and he was sent for into the royal presence.

The prophet came, and the king offered him the highest rewards and honours if he would interpret the inscription. But Daniel knew too well the empty nature of sublunary honours to be dazzled by such an offer. This his answer to the monarch proved: "Let thy gifts be to thyself," said he, "and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation."

Before the prophet did this, he boldly charged the monarch with the impious deed of profaning the holy vessels of God's sanctuary, and of committing a flagrant act of rebellion against the Majesty of heaven. He then read aloud, and interpreted to this terrified auditory the mystical writing, a view of which has thus been taken by Dr. Hales.

THE INSCRIPTION.

MENE	MENE	TEKEL	[PERES]	UPHARSIN
"*Number*	*Number*	*Weight*	[*Division*]	*And Divisions*."

THE INTERPRETATION.

MENE—"God hath numbered thy reign," and

MENE—"Hath finished it." The repetition emphatically signifying that the decree was certain, and should shortly come to pass. See Gen. xli. 32.

TEKEL—"Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." See Job xxxi. 6; Rev. vi. 5

PERES—"Thy kingdom is divided."

UPHARSIN—"And given to the Mede and the Persian" [Darius and Cyrus.]

Belshazzar heard this dreadful sentence, and however unwelcome it was to him, he nevertheless bestowed upon Daniel the promised rewards: he caused him to be clothed in

scarlet, with a chain of gold about his neck, and to be proclaimed the third ruler in the kingdom.

"In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain," Dan. v. 25—30. This is the brief statement of Holy Writ. No circumstances are detailed. All inquiries, therefore, into the particulars are only conjectures, or to be supported by such evidence as may be found in common writers. If these contradict each other, we may adopt which we think best grounded, without in the least departing from, or impugning the truth of Scripture.

According to Xenophon, Belshazzar was slain by conspirators; for he states, that Gobryas and Godatas, who led the band that broke into his palace, were the first who adored the gods for having punished the impious king. Dr. Hales conceives it probable that Daniel's interpretation of the handwriting upon the wall hastened his doom, since the conspirators, with their most injured leaders, would now consider him as devoted to immediate destruction by God himself for his "sacrilege." "The great feast," adds this excellent writer, "on the night of which he was slain, appears to have been a season of profound peace and tranquillity, when a thousand of his lords could freely come from all parts of his empire without molestation or interruption from a besieging enemy, and when the king would be most apt to forget God, after he had eaten, and was full." The death of Belshazzar occurred B. C. 553, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

LABOROSOARCHAD,

A boy, who, according to Berosus, was slain in a conspiracy, nine months after, when, according to Dr. Hales, the Babylonian dynasty became extinct, and the kingdom descended peaceably to "Darius the Mede," or Cyaxares; who, on the well-known policy of the Medes and Persians, appointed a Babylonian nobleman named

NABONADIUS,

Or Labynetus, to be king, or viceroy.

According to Rollin, and other writers of ancient history, this person was the Belshazzar of Scripture; but Dr. Hales, who is here followed, has satisfactorily shown, that the succession of Darius the Mede to the Babylonian throne, was not attended with war. After recording the death of Labo-

rosoarchad, he says: "The family of Nebuchadnezzar being now extinct, and the Babylonian dynasty ended, according to prophecy, who had so good a title to the crown as Cyaxares, or 'Darius the Mede?' 1. He was pointed out as the next successor by the prophet Daniel, whose interpretation of the Divine inscription must naturedly have had the greatest weight with the grandees and the whole nation. 2. He was the queen-mother's brother, and the next of kin, by her side, to the crown. And, 3. He was by far the most powerful competitor for it, and also a prince of an easy and amiable disposition. Upon all these accounts, therefore, we cannot hesitate to admit, that the Babylonians made him, soon after, a voluntary tender of the sovereignty, and that 'Darius the Mede' took, or accepted the kingdom, with their free and full consent." According to this, it would appear that Belshazzar was not the king in whose time the city was taken by Cyrus; and consequently the events which took place on the night on which Belshazzar was slain, were distinct from, and anterior to the siege and capture of the city by the Persian king.

Nabonadius, it would appear, held his office for the space of seventeen years, at the end of which time, B. C. 536, he revolted against Cyrus, who had this year succeeded to the united empire of the Medes and Persians. Cyrus could not attend immediately to him, but at length he marched to Babylon, and took the city, during the drunken festival of the *Sakea*, as predicted by the prophet Jeremiah, ch. li. 28—41. This event took place in the first year of the sovereignty of Cyrus, after which the proud city mouldered into dust. It is known only in the pages of history, and there it is exhibited as a monument of God's wrath, and as testifying to the frailty of all sublunary affairs.*

"The glory of Babel the proud is no more,
She hath perished, as lesser things perished before;
She is desolate now, and the dragon crawls
O'er the muddy heaps of her ruined walls;
And the serpents creep, and the wild beasts stray
Where her chambers of state and her proud halls lay;
And nothing is left, save a tale of her fame,
The fame of her glory, and wreck of her name."—ANON.

* The date of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, as connected with the liberation of the Jews, is not affected by this correct view of history; whereas, by the plan adopted by some, of placing the death of Belshazzar and the siege of Babylon together, the reign of the former is carried down too far in the chronology of the Babylon monarchs.

THE FOLLOWING

DYNASTIES OF ASSYRIA

ARE TAKEN FROM DR. HALES.

I.—ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 317 YEARS.

	Y.	M.	B. C.
1. Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus, or Maha Bala	98	8	2554
2. Evechous, or Chasma Belus	7	6	2455
3. Porus	35		2448
4. Nechubus	43		2413
5. Abius	48		2370
6. Oniballus	40		2322
7. Zinzirus	45		2282
Interregnum	985		2237
End of the Interregnum			1252

II.—ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 431 YEARS.

	Y.	B. C.
1. Mithraeus, or Ninus II	37	1252
2. Tautanes, or Teutames	32	1215
3. Tantaeus	44	1183
4. Thinaeus	30	1139
5. Dercylus	40	1109
6. Eupalis, or Empachmes	38	1069
7. Laosthenes	45	1031
8. Pertiades	30	986
9. Ophrataeus	21	956
10. Epecheres, or Ofratanes	52	935
11. Acraganes, or Acrazapes	42	833
12. Thonus Concolerus	20	841
End of the Dynasty	431	821

III.—ASSYRIAN DYNASTY.

	B. C.
1. King of Nineveh	8[illegible]1
Jonah's Prophecy	800
2. Pul, or Belus II	790
First Invasion of Israel	770
3. Tiglath-Pileser	747
Second Invasion of Israel	740
4. Shalmanasar	726
Third Invasion of Israel	722
Samaria taken	719
5. Sennacherib	714
First Invasion of Judah	711
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or Sardanapalus I	710
Medes and Babylonians revolt	710
Babylon regained	680
Second Invasion of Judah, and Captivity of Manasseh	674
7. Ninus III	667
8. Nabuchodonosor	658
Defeat of Arphaxad, or Phraortes, the Mede	641
Third Invasion of Judah by Holofernes	640
9. Sarac, or Sardanapalus II	636
Nineveh taken	606

BABYLONIAN KINGS.

	Y.	B.C.
1. Nabonassar	14	747
2. Nadius	2	733
3. Chinzirus	5	731
4. Jugaeus	5	726
5. Mardock Empad, or Merodach Baladan	12	721
—— revolts from Assyria		710
—— writes to Hezekiah		710
6. Arcianus	5	709
I. Interregnum	2	704
7. Belibus	3	702
8. Apronadius	6	699
9. Regibelus	1	693
10. Messemordach	4	692
II. Interregnum	8	688
11. Asaradin, or Esarhaddon	13	680
12. Saosduchim	20	667
13. Chyneladon	22	647
14. Nabopolassar, or Labynetus I	21	625
Nineveh taken by the Babylonians and Medes		606

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

	Y.	B.C.
Nineveh taken	2	606
1. Nabopolassar, Labynetus I., Boktanser, or Nebuchadnezzar	43	604
—— subdues Elam, or Persia		596
2. Ilverodam, or Evil Merodach	3	561
3. Niracassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar	5	558
4. Nabonadius, or Labynetus II., appointed by Darius the Mede	17	553
Babylon taken by Cyrus	70	536

THE HISTORY OF THE MEDES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF MEDIA.

This country, once the seat of a potent empire, derived its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet; as may be gathered from Scripture, in which the Medes are constantly thus denominated. See 2 Kings xvii. 6; Isa. xiii. 17; Dan. v. 28, etc.

It is difficult to determine the boundaries of Media, as they appear to have varied in different ages. According to the best authorities, however, Media Proper was bounded by Armenia and Assyria Proper on the west; by Persia on the east; by the Caspian provinces on the north; and by Susiana on the south.

In ancient times, Media was divided into several provinces, namely, Tropatene, Charomithrane, Darites, Marciane, Amariace, and Syro-Media. According to Strabo, these were, by a later division, reduced to two provinces, Great Media, and Media Atropatene.

Great Media, which is a high table land, is said by all writers to have possessed a good climate and fertile soil; an account which is confirmed by modern travellers. It was separated on the west and south-west from the low country watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, by a range of mountains, known to the ancients by the names of Zagros and Parachoatris. On the east it was bounded by a desert and the Caspian mountains, (the modern Elburz mountains;) and on the north and north-west by the Cadussii, Atropatene, and the Matiene: thus, nearly corresponding to the modern

Irak Ajemi, which is the most western province of the Persian empire.

Media Atropatene, now called Aderbijan, extended as far north as the Arates. This was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country, on which account it is supposed that Tiglathpileser and Shalmaneser, kings of Assyria, chose it for the abode of the captive tribes of Israel; (see 2 Kings xvii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 26;) acting upon a similar course of policy, which actuated the Russian monarch, Peter the Great, in transferring the Swedish prisoners, taken at Pultowa, into the barren regions of Siberia. By some authors, this division of Media is supposed to have derived its name from Atropates, who successfully opposed the Macedonians, and established an independent monarchy, which continued till the time of Strabo, notwithstanding its proximity to the Armenian and Parthian dominions. It is more probable, however, that the appellation of Atropatene is a corruption of Adzur-bagjan, or "The Place of Fire," from the number of pyrea, or fire temples, erected there, Thebarma, on the lake of Urmeeah, in Aderbijan, being the reputed place of Zoroaster's birth; or from the volcanic eruptions to which it is subjected.

MOUNTAINS.

According to Ptolemy and Strabo, the mountains of Media, demanding notice, are

1. *Choatra*, parting Media from Assyria, and branching out from the Gordyan or Carduchian mountains, on the confines of Assyria and Armenia.

2. *Zagros*, a mountain range, which divides Media from Assyria on the east. And,

3. *Parachoatra*, which is placed by Ptolemy on the borders, towards Persia, and by Strabo on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia.

These are boundaries between Media and the adjacent regions; and, therefore, may be said to belong to the latter as well as the former. But there are other mountains, those of the Orontes, the Jasonius, and the Coronus, which, as they stand in the very heart of the country, may, in the strictest sense, be termed mountains of Media. The principal of these is the

Orontes, or the modern Alwend, which bounds the plains of Hamadan to the north-west. This range stretches from

north-east to south-west, thirty miles in length, and is completely separated from the more northern ranges of Giroos and Sahund. When viewed from the south and south-east, the Orontes presents the appearance of a vast range of separate mountains. It commences with a gradual ascent from the north-east, and covers with its ramifications upwards of sixty miles of ground. The summit of the mountain is covered with perpetual snow, and Sir R. Ker Porter, who ascended it in the month of September, when the summer heat has attained its maximum, found the ravines below the peak deeply covered with snow. From this circumstance, and the high elevation of the plains of Hamadan, in which it is situated, it is thought that it rivals Olympus in absolute elevation above the level of the sea, though not in respect of its altitude from the base of the plain. The elevation of the plains of Hamadan is alone 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. The ascent of the mountain of Orontes, or Alwend, occupied Sir R. Ker Porter four hours on horseback, and half an hour more was required to scale the summit. Eight hours are required to ascend the summit of Olympus from the plains of Broussa: five hours and a half on horseback, the rest on foot. This will give an idea of the difference of the elevations of the plains on which these mountains stand.

RIVERS.

The rivers of note, according to Ptolemy, are the Straton, Amardus, Cyrus, and Cambyses. But these rivers, as they are represented to fall into the most southern part of the Caspian sea, must, by their positions, have belonged to the provinces now denominated Ghilan and Mazandaran; and consequently could not belong to Media Proper, as it is described by the ancients.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren. Chardin says, that the snow lies on the mountains nine months in the year. The southern parts of Media, however, are productive of all kinds of grain, and necessaries for life; and they are so pleasant that the country adjoining Tauris is called "The Garden of Persia." In this part of the country there are large plains, among which that of Nysa was famous in an-

cient times for the numerous stud of horses fed there for the use of the Persian monarchs.

Where this plain of Nysa was situated, it is now difficult to determine. The ancients place it in the most eastern part of Media, and beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. Sir J. Chardin conceives that he passed over this fertile tract of ground ; but if he is correct, it must be placed several degrees nearer us than the ancient geographers have defined its position. He says: "We continued our way, from Tauris towards Persia, upon the most beautiful and fertile plains, covered with villages. These plains afford the most excellent pasture of all Media, and, I dare say, of the whole world, and the best horses of the country were there at grass. I asked a young noblemen, in company with us, if there were any other plains in Media so fine and so extensive. He told me he had seen some as fine about Derbent, but none more extensive. So that it is reasonable enough to believe that these plains are the Hippobaton of the ancients, and where, they say, the kings of Media had a stud of fifty thousand horses; and that here it is also we must look for the Nysean plain, so famous for the horses of that name. Stephanus. the geographer, says that Nysa was in the country of the Medes. I told this same nobleman some particulars which historians relate concerning those horses, particularly Phavorinus, who says all the Nysean horses were light duns. He answered, that he had never read or heard any thing of the kind. I afterwards inquired of several gentlemen of learning, but could never understand that there was any place, either in Persia or Media, that produced horses of that colour."

Polybius, in describing Media, says, This country is the most powerful kingdom in all Asia, as well for its extent as for the number and strength of its inhabitants, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts, and its pastures are so rich, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs there.

The climate of Media is very unequal ; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceedingly cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred, which, together with the vapours rising from the Caspian sea, render that part very inhospitable. Ælian tells us, that these parts of Media were infested by scorpions, and that while the king of Persia was on his progress into Media, the inhabitants were employed,

for three days before his arrival on the confines, in destroying them.

The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially according to Chardin, in spring and autumn. This author states that, besides the cattle and game, which the inland provinces abound with, some of them have been, for many ages, remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wine they produce, especially the neighbourhood of Tauris, where no fewer, than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are now gathered.

In the plains of Hamadan, the climate is very pleasant. The thermometer never rises, in the height of summer, higher than 80°. The heat, therefore, is never very oppressive, as in other parts of Persia, being constantly tempered by a cool breeze from the north-west during this season. It is no wonder, then, that the Persian kings made Ecbatana (which, as will be seen, was situated in these plains) their summer residence. This province abounds in fine rivulets of the purest water, which is a blessing of inestimable value in the arid and parched regions of Persia. The habitations on these plains are profusely interspersed with trees, which give variety and beauty to the scenery. Beside the poplar, the narwend, a species of elm, is a very common tree, and grows into shapes so formal as to raise suspicions that they have acquired them by art. On the skirts of the Orontes, Morier was introduced into an extensive garden, in the centre of which was an alley of poplar, willow, and narwend trees, nearly a mile long, and in which many of the natives were singing and taking their pleasure. One large group was seated around a basin of the coolest and most transparent water. The extensive plain itself is varied at short distances with villages rising from amidst groves of the noblest trees, and seems one luxuriant carpet of the richest verdure, studded with hamlets, and watered with numberless rills. From all this, some idea may be formed of the fertility of Media in ancient times, when it was the seat of empire.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF MEDIA.

HALAH, HABOR, AND HARA.

These three cities are mentioned 2 Kings xvii. 6, and 1 Chron. v. 26, as cities of the Medes, to which the captive tribes of Israel were transported by Shalmaneser and Tiglath-pileser, kings of Assyria, who, according to history, both sacred and profane, possessed the country of Media as part of their empire. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, were sent thither by Tiglath-pileser, about B. C. 740, and the remaining seven tribes and a half, about B. C. 719, by his successor, Shalmaneser.

It is interesting to observe, that the names of all these places have been satisfactorily traced by Major Rennel, and other travellers, in the remote northern district of Media, towards the Caspian sea and the province of Ghilan; or, more definitely, in the neighbourhood of the river Kizil-Ozan, the ancient Gozan, which now forms the southern limit of the two most northern provinces of Persia, those of Aderbijan and Ghilan.

The river Gozon is spoken of in the text as watering the country where these cities stood; and on a branch of it is found a city named Abhar, or Habar, which is reputed to be exceedingly ancient, and which evidently refers to Habor. The name of it is given variously by geographers, as Abhar by Abulfeda; Abher, Herbelot; Abar, Hanway; Habar, Tavernier; Abhor, Della Valle; Ebher, Chardin; Ebbeher, Olearius; and Abhar, in the tables of Nasereddin and Ulugh-Begh. A remarkable circumstance connected with this place, and which is supposed to confirm its identity with the ancient Habor, is, that it is the first place, in coming from the west, where Persian is spoken, and from thence eastward all the way to Hindostan. Morier, however, a later traveller,

who traversed Aderbijan in various directions, mentions a great and snowy mountain, called Ak-Dagh, or the white mountain, sixty-six English miles south-east of Ardebil, thirty-five of Iris, and thirty-five east of the Kizil-Ozan, and belonging to the range of Talish, which bounds the district of Chalcal on the east. At the base of this snow-clad peak, is a city called Herah, as large as the town of Zengan, in Media, which, as it is in the very district of Chalcal, and on the north of the Kizil Ozan, and as it seems to be a mere transposition of the word Habor, is thought, by some, more likely to be the Habor, to which the ten tribes were carried, than Abher.

Bordering on the Kizil-Ozan itself, is a district of some extent, and of great beauty and fertility, named Chalcal, and having in it a remarkably strong position, of the same name, situated in one of the hills adjoining to the mountains, which separate it from the province of Ghilan. Allowing for the change of spelling and pronunciation in so many ages, this name is not far removed from Halah, or Chalach. This district is described by Olearius, Della Valle, Rennel, and Morier; the latter of whom, who traversed it in his journey from Ardebil to the Kizil-Ozan, says: "At Iris we had entered the large and fertile district of Chalcal, justly called the granary of Aderbijan, and esteemed the finest part of Albas Mirza's government. As we advanced from Iris into Chalcal, the country progressively improved in richness of soil and extent of cultivation. Quitting the high country, we commenced a gradual descent to the Kizil-Ozan, and stopped at the village of Paras, where are some striking masses of rock, from the summit of one of which we enjoyed an extensive view; for the deep dell of the river was at our feet, and at a very great distance, just delineated in the horizon, were the snowy summits of the range of Sahund. The descent from Paras to the Kizil-Ozan was extremely grand, presenting many fine outlines of deep chasms and impending rocks."

There is also a district named Tarom, or Tarim, bordering on the Ozan, and occupying the intermediate space between Abhar and Chalcal. This, also, is but a little removed from Hara. There is, however, a city mentioned by Morier, which has a much better claim to be the Hara of Scripture than the Tarom of Rennel. This is called Ahar, and is described as being the capital of the district of the Kara-Daghler, or black mountains, stretching north and north-east to the Araxes and the plain of Mogan, and placed by him forty English miles north-east of Tabriz. Ahar is exactly

Hara by the transposition of the aspirate; and a transposition of syllables or letters in words, having nearly the same sound, is usual in the east; as, Lezgee for Legzee, Corbal for Colbar, Tilgath for Tiglath.

Major Rennel conceives, that both in the Assyrian and Babylonish captivity of the two remaining tribes, which composed the kingdom of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar, the whole mass of the people was not carried away, but only the principal inhabitants, as the nobles, soldiers, artizans, merchants, and men of letters, who would be useful in their new settlements, by bringing with them their superior knowledge and skill in arts and manufactures. That some of the captives rose to high rank and estimation, even at Nineveh, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Rages, the seats of government in the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Median empires, is evident from the books of Daniel and Tobit.

In his travels through the western part of the Persian empire, Sir R. Ker Porter mentions a remarkable sculptured rock, calleh Be-Sitoon, in the range of mountains that skirt the plains of Kermanshah to the north-east. One of the groups transcribed thereon, is supposed by this traveller to refer to the captivity. In it there are fourteen figures, one of which is in the air. The first to the left carries a spear, and is in full Median habit. His hair is in a similar fashion, and bound with a fillet. The second holds a bent bow in his left hand: his dress is much the same, with the addition of a quiver slung at his back by a belt crossing his right shoulder, and his wrists are adorned with bracelets. The third figure is much larger than any in the group, which is a usual symbol of royalty in oriental description, and from its air and attitude undoubtedly denotes a monarch. The costume, excepting that the beard is not quite so long, is precisely that which denotes royal dignity, and as exhibited in the bas reliefs of Nakshi Roostam and Persepolis, that of the pontiff and sovereign combined; the robes being the ample vesture of the one, and the diadem the simple band of the other. This figure has also bracelets on his wrists, and is holding up his hand in a commanding or admonitory manner; the two forefingers being extended, and the other two doubled down in the palm; an action, also, common on the tombs at Persepolis, and on the monuments. In his left hand, a bow is grasped, and this bow, together with his left foot, rests on the body of a prostrate captive, who lies on his back, with outstretched arms, as if imploring mercy. This figure, and

also the first in the string of nine, which advance towards the king, are very much injured; but enough remains to show that they are intended to signify captives. The hands of all are tied behind their backs, and the cord is very distinct which binds the neck of the one to the other, till the mark of bondage reaches to the last of the nine. If it were originally attached to the leader, the cord is now not to be seen there, but the position of his hands show that he was originally in the same trammels as his followers. The second figure, apparently, has his head shaved, and a sort of caul covers it from the top of the forehead to the middle of the head. His dress is a short tunic, reaching down no farther than his knees, and which is fastened round his waist by a belt; his legs are bare. The third figure appears much older, and it has rather a pointed beard and bushy hair, and a similar caul covers the top of his head. He has also a short tunic, with something like the trowsers or booted appearances seen on some of the figures at Persepolis. The preceding figure and this are fastened together by a rope round their necks, running onwards, and noozing all that follows in one string. This last figure has the peculiarity attached to him of the skirt of his garment being covered entirely with an arrow-headed inscription. Next in the train is a figure in a long vestment, with full hair, without the caul. He is succeeded by one in a short plain tunic, with naked legs. A second long-robed personage succeeds him, and after him comes another in a short plain tunic, and a head apparently bald. A third long-robed personage follows next, and the ninth figure, who follows him, is in a short tunic and trowsers, and has the singularity of wearing a prodigious and high pointed cap. His beard and hair are much more ample than any of his companions, and his face denotes greater age.

This, as stated before, is considered by Sir R. Ker Porter to refer to the captivity. He conceives that the large figure represents Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and the prostrate captive, Hoshea, king of Israel. This prostrate person is not a private individual, for on none such would the foot of a haughty eastern monarch deign to tread; he must, therefore, have been a captive prostrate monarch. The nine captives are doubly bound, in token of a double offence; and the offence of Hoshea and his subjects was double. He had professed homage to the king of Assyria, who not only spared him, but confirmed him on the throne of Samaria. He, however, ungratefully rebelled, being stirred up by So, the king

of Egypt; and, therefore, the double badge of bondage may be supposed to represent the double offence of Hoshea. Including the fallen monarch, the captives are just ten, representing the ten tribes, the king being considered as the head of his own tribe. The last personage in the procession, wearing the high conical cap, Sir Robert conceives may represent the tribe of Levi, who, in compliance with the wishes of the kings of Israel and Judah, had adopted the worship of the golden calves of Dan and Bethel. But this latter conjecture is entirely unfounded. Levi was not one of the ten captive tribes of Israel: it counted as a thirteenth tribe when Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh, as in the instance of the captivity) counts as two; and the number ten is therefore made out without Levi.

It is difficult to determine whether this sculpture refers to the captivity or not. The captives have that peculiar cast of physiognomy which distinguishes the Jews, and the suppositions of our author, except the last, render it probable. Those, however, who hesitate to accept it as an illustration of the captivity, will, nevertheless, value it as a most authentic representation of the mode in which captives were wont to be treated by oriental conquerors, and to which there are frequent allusions in Scripture.

ECBATANA.

Ecbatana, which is generally thought to be the Achmetha of Ezra, chap. vi. 2, and the Hamadan of the present day, was the summer capital of the sovereigns of the Persian empire, from the time of Cyrus; while the winter metropolis was Susa. The situation of Ecbatana was remarkable for the coolness of its temperature. Della Valle observes, that the ink froze in the room in which he was writing; a sure proof of the great elevation of the soil, in the latitude of only 35°, which is farther proved from the great mountain Alwend, the Orontes of the Greeks, only a league distant, being covered with snow. The periodical change of residence by the Persian kings, attracted the attention of many ancient writers, and one of them, Ælian, compares them to cranes for this reason.

Ancient historians tell us, that Ecbatana was built by De joces, called, in the book of Judith, Arphaxad, the first king of Media, after the inhabitants had shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians. There is no reason, however, to think that De

joces built Ecbatana, or that the Medes were, in his days, an uncivilized and barbarous people. There can, indeed, be no doubt that Ecbatana was a city long before the days either of Dejoces or Phraortes. The natural amenity of the situation would soon point it out to the natives as a proper place for a city; and when Media rose to a state of political independence, from the beauty and strength of its situation, it would naturally be selected as the fittest place for the royal residence.

The walls of Ecbatana are much celebrated by ancient writers, and minutely described by Herodotus. According to this historian, they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other, by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building them, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, that is, according to Thucydides, 178 furlongs, or about twenty-four miles. This wall had white battlements; the second, black; the third was of a purple colour; the fourth, blue; and the fifth, of a deep orange; the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the person of the king, were embellished in a superior manner to the others, the one being covered with silver, and the other with gold.

This description, as given by Herodotus, seems to partake of the fabulous; nevertheless, that it was one of the most magnificent of oriental cities, other authorities declare. In the book of Judith, chap. i. 2—4, we read, that the walls of this metropolis were seventy cubits (about 130 feet) high, and fifty cubits (about 94 feet) broad; that the towers on the gates were an hundred cubits (about 180 feet) in height; the breadth, in the foundation, sixty cubits (about 112 feet); and that the walls were built of hewn and polished stones, each stone being six cubits (about eleven feet) in length, and three in breadth.

Polybius, speaking of Ecbatana, says: "The edifices of this city surpass, in richness and magnificence, all others in the world. The king's palace is 700 fathoms (nearly one English mile) round. Though all the wood-work was of cedar and cypress, not the least piece of timber was visible; the joints, the beams, the ceilings, and columns, which sustained the porticos and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part

of these materials were carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. When Antiochus, however, entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilded columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with the spoiler's image; the whole amounting to about 600,000*l.* sterling.

The present town of Hamadan stands at the base of the Alwend mountains, and at the extremity of a rich and cultivated plain. It offers no intimations of its ancient dignity, though it is still an important town, and the capital of a considerable district, governed by a prince of the royal line. The town, though seated on a slope, where the mountain meets the plains below, does not appear to stand on precisely the same site as the ancient Ecbatana, which is described as being upon a circular hill. It contains about 9,000 houses, and 45,000 inhabitants, 600 families of which are Jews, and as many Armenians.

Hamadan is a place of pilgrimage to the Jews, on account of its containing a tomb alleged to be that wherein Esther and Mordecai were interred; and the site is very likely to have been that of the interment of one or both of those personages. This tomb is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. It stands on ground somewhat more elevated than any in the neighbourhood, and is in some degree fallen into decay. The entrance to the building is by a stone door of small dimensions, the key of which is kept by the chief rabbi. This door conducts to the ante-chamber, which is small, and contains the graves of several rabbis. A second door, of inferior dimensions to the first, leads to the tomb-chamber, which is larger than the outer apartment. In the midst of this stand the two sarcophagi of Mordecai and Esther. They are composed of dark and hard wood, are richly carved, and have an Hebrew inscription along the upper ledge, taken from Esther ii. 5, and x. 3. The wood is in good preservation, though evidently very old. The present building is said to have been built by certain devout Jews, and to occupy the site of one more magnificent, which was destroyed by Timour Beg. The inscription thereon, as translated by Sir Gore Ousely, runs thus: "Thursday, fifteenth of the month Adar, in the year 4474 from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple over the graves of Mordecai and Es-

ther, by the hands of the good-hearted brothers, Elias and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ismael, of Kashan." This date is probably after the computation of the eastern Jews, which would make it answer to about 250 A. D.; otherwise, it would not have been earlier than about 650 A. D.

The following are the translations of the other inscriptions, which are rendered by Sir R. Ker Porter, and which are very interesting:

From a marble slab in the sepulchre.—"Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a king, was great and good. His garments were those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews.

On the sarcophagus of Mordecai.—"It is said by David, Preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence. I have cried at the gates of heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord.—Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world came from thee, O God!—Their grief and sufferings were many; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their afflictions. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes."—MORDECAI.

From the sarcophagus of Esther.—"I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me. I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.—My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became at the last, through thy goodness, full of peace.—O God! shut not my soul out from thy Divine presence. Those whom thou lovest never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life, that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of paradise!"—ESTHER.

According to Morier, Hamadan presents more objects of research to an antiquarian than any other city in Persia. On the eastern summit of Alwend is a large square platform, called by the natives, "The tomb of the son of Solomon." A number of copper lamps lie scattered in its vicinity, which

were brought hither by crowds of devotees, who came on pilgrimages to this fancied tomb. In one of the valleys of Alwend, about eight miles south-west of the town, at the source of a rapid rivulet that waters the plain, about fifty feet above the water, appears, projecting from the sloping side of the acclivity, the mysterious stone called the Gunj Nameh, or Tales of a Treasure. It is an immense block of red granite, of the closest and finest texture, and of many thousand tons' weight. At ten feet from the ground, two square excavations appear in the face of the stone, cut to the depth of a foot, five feet in breadth, and as many in length. Each of these tablets contains three columns of engraved arrow-headed writing, in a state of excellent preservation. Above these two tablets, the commencement of others are traceable. Another monument of antiquity was discovered, by Morier and Sir R. Ker Porter, in the northern skirts of the city, consisting of the base of a column, with its broken shaft, of the same order as the columns found at Persepolis. Near this fragment is a large regular terrace, evidently the work of art, and perhaps the ground work of some great building. Some identify this with the palace of the Persian king, which, Polybius says, was below the citadel. The position of the ruins of the modern castle, which was probably the site of the ancient citadel, is more elevated than the platform, and sufficiently near the latter to be said to be below the former. On the site of the castle is a small platform, called Takht. I. Ardeshir, which has an exterior of white square stones, backed by masonry of common stone and mortar. Besides these, Hamadan contains a great number of Mohammedan antiquities, as sepulchral stones, towers, mosques, old bazars, and Cufic inscriptions. Arsacidan and Sassanian coins are also to be found here; of which latter, nine were brought by Sir R. Ker Porter into England. Morier discovered a cylindrical stone, with Persepolitan figures and characters on it; and he supposes, that if excavations were permitted to be made on what he deems to be the site of the royal treasury, valuable discoveries would be made.

RAGES, OR REY.

This city is called, by Isidorus, the largest city in Media. It is mentioned in the books of Tobit and Judith as a place of consequence, after the revolt of the Parthians against the dynasty of Seleucus. It was captured by Arsaces, the first of the Parthian dynasty of sovereigns, and made the capital

of his empire. From him it was called by the new name of Arsacia. It became a great and flourishing city in the days of the Mohammedan khalifs of Bagdad; and was at its acme of political splendour in the ninth century, when it contained, according to the romantic account of the Mussulman annalists, 16,600 baths, 15,000 mosques, 6,400 colleges, 12,000 mills, 1,700 caravansaries, and 13,000 inns. It was ruined in the thirteenth century, partly by the intestine discord of its inhabitants, who were divided into the opposite sects of the Shiites and Sunnites, and who contended with each other for sixty years; and, finally, by the Mongols, under the successors of Jenghis Khan. Nothing now remains of Rages but part of the ancient wall.

Rages lay upwards of two hundred miles east of Ecbatana, or Hamadan. It is remarkable in history for the defeat and death of Arphaxad, or Phraortes, son of Dejoces, by Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, B. C. 641, in the plain of Ragau, or Rages.

Besides these cities of Media, there were several others, as Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns; and Apamea, which is sometimes adjudged by Strabo to Media, and sometimes to Parthia. At a later date there were the cities of Zombis, Patigrau, Gazaca, Margasis, etc.; but these were all built, in after ages, by the Macedonians, and are therefore called by Strabo, Greek cities. These were succeeded by more modern cities: thus showing the ebb and flow of the tide of sublunary affairs; proclaiming that time sweeps away empires, nations, and cities from the face of the earth; and admonishing the reader to seek a mansion in the skies. A poet has well tuned his harp to the following strains:

"This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's illusion given;
The smile of joy, the tears of woe,
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow,—
There's nothing true but heaven.

"And false the light on glory's plume,
As fading hues of even;
And love, and hope, and beauty's bloom,
Are blossoms gather'd from the tomb,—
There's nothing bright but heaven.

"Poor wanderers of a stormy day,
From wave to wave we're driven;
And fancy's flash, and reasons ray,
Serve but to light the troubled way,
There's nothing calm but heaven."

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE MEDES.

THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ETC.

Our knowledge of the government of the Medes, in the early ages of the world, is very limited. Originally, however, it appears to have been monarchical, like that of other primitive nations; and it is probable that they possessed kings of their own in the earliest ages. This state of things lasted till the date at which they were first brought under the yoke of the Assyrians. When under this yoke, they were governed by the absolute laws of the Assyrian monarchs; and when they had shaken it off, which they did about B.C. 710, they appear to have modelled their form of government upon the despotic principles of their former masters. Their kings became absolute, submitting to no law, and claiming equal respect with the gods themselves. Their own word was law; and, as they were thus the fountains of law, they were looked upon by their subjects as something more than mortal.

There is a reference to the royal prerogative of infallibility in the Median monarchs, Dan. vi. 8, where the conspirators against the life of the prophet Daniel are represented as praying thus to Darius: "Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

How tenacious the kings of Media and Persia were, in adhering to the principles of their decrees or laws, may be discerned in many transactions recorded in history, of which the chapter alluded to affords a notable instance. In the book of Esther, also, we find a king unable to recall an order which he had made for the massacre of the Jews. The only remedy he had, when he discovered the depths of iniquity which had brought it to pass, was to issue a counter order, allowing the people he had doomed to die to stand upon their defence; in

other words, they were permitted to contend with and kill those who were, by his previous unjust decree, bound to kill them!

Sometimes these monarchs themselves suffered from the infallibility which attended their laws, as did also their subjects. Sir J. Malcolm relates a memorable instance of Aga Mahommed Khan, the last but one of the Persian kings, which well illustrates this. After alluding to the instances in the books of Esther and Daniel, he says: "The character of the power of the king of Persia has undergone no change. The late king, Aga Mohammed Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move till the snow was off the mountain in the vicinity of his camp. The season proved severe, and the snow remained longer than was expected; the army began to suffer distress and sickness, but the king said, while the snow remained upon the mountain he would not move; and his word was law, and could not be broken. A multitude of laborers were collected, and sent to remove the snow: their efforts, and a few fine days, cleared the mountain, and Aga Mohammed Khan marched. This anecdote was related to me by one of his principal chiefs, and who told it to me with a desire of impressing my mind with a high opinion of Aga Mohammed Khan, who knew, he observed, the sacred nature of a word spoken by the king of Persia."

The crown of Media was hereditary, and the Medes paid their monarchs the greatest possible respect. Herodotus says, that they deemed it a very great offence to spit or to laugh in their presence. They honoured them with the high sounding title of "Great king," or "King of kings," which was afterwards adopted by the Persian monarchs, and their proud successors, the Parthians. When they appeared in public, which was not often, they were attended by musicians and guards, consisting of the noblest in their kingdom. In the field of battle, their wives, children, and concubines formed part of their retinue, as is usual in an oriental camp.

WAR, ARTS, ETC.

The Medes were, in very early ages, a warlike people. This will appear from their history, and there is an interesting allusion to their warlike disposition in the prophecies of Isaiah. The Almighty, threatening to destroy Babylon by the Medes, says by his prophet:

"Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them,
Which shall not regard silver;
And as for gold, they shall not delight in it.
Their bows shall also dash the young men to pieces;
And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb:
Their eye shall not spare children."—*Isa.* xiii. 17, 18.

In war, the Medes poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called naphtha, of which there was anciently an abundance in Media, Persia, and Assyria. The arrow being steeped in it, and set on fire, and shot from a slack bow, (for a swift and violent motion lessened its malignity,) burned the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the flame: dust alone could put out the flame, and alleviate the pain it occasioned. Their bows, which formed their principal weapon, were only exceeded in size and strength by those of the Ethiopians, and were well fitted to be used also as clubs. They measured about five feet six inches in length.

Herodotus attributes to the Medes the custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the contracting parties, which was practised among all the eastern nations, even in the Roman times. This is confirmed by Tacitus, who says, that when they were to form alliances, they used to tie together the thumbs of their right hands till the blood, starting to the extremities, was, by a slight incision, drawn forth. Of this they mutually partook; and a league thus confirmed, was esteemed most awful, as being mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties.

This offers a sad picture of humanity; but prophecy points to the day when the blood of our fellow creatures need not be even thus figuratively drawn to insure friendship and amity—when all nations shall look upon each other as the workmanship of one common Creator; as brethren, with whom they should sojourn on earth in peace. Glorious will that day be, when

"Love shall, in one delightful stream,
Through every bosom flow;
And union sweet, and fond esteem,
In every action glow."

With reference to the arts, learning, and trade of the Medes very little is known. Whether they ever applied themselves to either is not, indeed, anywhere recorded. They seemed

rather to have delighted, and to have aimed at excelling in the merciless art of war. In the arts of managing the warlike steed, and handling the bow, they surpassed all other nations; as, in after ages, did their successors, the Persians.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF MEDIA.

The kingdom of Media appears to have been erected about 704 years, B. C. Hitherto it had been a province of the kings of Assyria; for we collect from Holy Writ, that in B. C. 719, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, transplanted the captive Israelites into various districts of Media, 2 Kings xvii. 6. He must therefore, have been, at that time, in full and undisturbed possession of that province. It was, indeed, in the year B. C. 710, that the Medians became first disaffected toward the Assyrian rule. In that year, they revolted from Sennacherib, and during the next six years they lived without a king.

During this time, the liberty the Medes had acquired by their valour degenerated into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection; injustice, violence and rapine, prevailed everywhere, because there was no one possessed of power sufficient to restrain them, or authority sufficient to punish the offenders. These disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than before.

Herodotus gives the following account of the change: "There was a man among the Medes of the name of Dejoces, son of Phraortes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised. The Medes were divided into different districts,* and Dejoces was distinguished in his own, by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and while conscious that the profligate and the just

* At the time of their revolt from the Assyrians, the Medes consisted of the Busians, Paratacenians, Struchates, Arazantines, Budians, and Mages. These states were independent of each other, and governed by their own magistrates.

must ever be at war with each other. The Medes, who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applause of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

"The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Dejoces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer; intimating, that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Dejoces delivered sentiments to this effect:—'Our present situation is intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear of danger or molestation.' In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to elect a king; and, after some consultation about what person they should choose, Dejoces was proposed and elected with universal consent." To such mean and discreditable shifts will the ambitious spirit resort, that it may obtain a crown. But,

"Not kings alone:
Each villager has his ambition too:
No sultan prouder than his fettered slave.
Slaves build their little Babylons of straw—
Echo the proud Assyrian in their hearts,
And cry, 'Behold the wonders of my might!'
And why? because immortal as their lord:
And souls immortal must for ever heave
At something great; the glitter, or the gold;
The praise of mortals, or the praise of Heaven."
YOUNG.

Reader, make thou thy choice of the praise and the favour of Heaven; for all else will fail thee in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.

DEJOCES.

Dejoces was no sooner invested with the supreme power, than he acted as a tyrant, though the rigour he practised might to a certain extent, have been necessary to bring the nation into any order or discipline.

The first act of his government was the requisition of a life-guard, to secure his person, and maintain his dignity. He next required them to build him a strong and magnificent palace; and afterwards to build the royal city of Ecbatana, which is placed by Major Rennell on or near the site of Hamadan, in Al-Jebal. (See p. 138.) After the city was finished, he drew the main body of the people, who had hitherto lived in villages, to reside in its vicinity. Being persuaded, however, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, he withdrew himself from public view, in order to increase the public respect and veneration for his person and government. He was almost inaccessible, and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak or communicate their affairs to him but through his official servants, by whom he regularly returned his own decisions.* "This," says Herodotus, "was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding," he adds, "with regard to penal offences, was thus: Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, (and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions,) the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence."†

Although Dejoces appears to have acted tyrannically during his rule, he was nevertheless a great and wise prince, and a blessing to his country. During his reign, his country enjoyed the profoundest peace and tranquillity; and he never carried war into the territories of his neighbours. According to Dr. Hales, he died B. C. 663, after a reign of forty

* A similar policy was adopted by our Norman kings. Henry II., instead of the immediate application for justice to the king himself in the *Aula regis*, or "great court," that constantly attended his person, instituted two other courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, to be stationary at Westminster, where all judicial proceedings were henceforth to be conducted by pleading before the judges. By this regulation, justice was more orderly and more skilfully administered.

† This, also, resembles the institution of itinerant judges of assize, who were sent on circuits, at stated periods, to take "cognizance of offences and misdemeanors;" corresponding to the "spying out, or obtaining information of such;" while Achmetha, or Ecbatana, the capital, became the established place of public records in after ages, Ezra vi. 2.

years. He was succeeded in his kingdom, which had now become powerful, by

PHRAORTES,

who is the Arphaxad of Scripture.

Phraortes was a martial prince. Not being satisfied with the kingdom ef Media, left him by Dejoces, he attacked the Persians, and, defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. After this, strengthened by the accession of the Persian forces, he attacked other nations, and reduced them, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all Upper Asia.

Elated with this success, he invaded the Assyrians of Nineveh, who, though at this period weakened by the defection of their allies, were still very powerful in themselves. Nebuchodonosor raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to a great many nations in the east, to require their assistance. They refused to comply with his demand, and treated his ambassadors with ignominy; thus plainly declaring, that they no longer regarded the power of his once mighty empire, Judith i. 5—11.

Nabuchodonosor, enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his "throne and kingdom," that he would be revenged of all these nations, and put them to the sword. He then prepared for battle with his own forces, in the plain of Ragau.* This soon ensued, and it proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned, and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquest even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave it over to the rapine of his army. The unfortunate Phraortes himself, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at length into the hands of Nabuchodono-

* Ragau is a large and extensive plain to the south of Teheran, the present capital of Persia. It extends east and west to a great distance, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Mazanderan, supposed to be those mentioned in the text as the "mountains of Ragau;" and south by an inferior range that separates it from the western limits of the Great Salt desert. The mountains of Manzanderan are very difficult of access to cavalry, and therefore the fittest place to which Phraortes could have fled for refuge from his enraged pursuer. The city itself is mentioned in the books of Tobit and Judith, and the reader will find it described page 142 in this history.

sor, who caused him to be put to a cruel death. After that, he returned to Nineveh, and for four months feasted and diverted himself with those that had accompanied him in his expedition.

The death of Phraortes took place about B. C. 641, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son,

CYAXARES I., OR KAI KOBAD,

who was the most celebrated of the Median kings, and, according to Dr. Hales, the Ahasuerus of Scripture. The poet Æschylus, and the Persian historian Mirkhond, etc., agree in representing him as the founder of the second, or Kaianian dynasty. The former, who had fought against the Persians, in the battle of Marathon, and therefore had opportunities of information, introduces the ghost of Darius Hystapes, in his tragedy of Persæ, thus describing the several kings of Persia, from the Median founder to his own son, Xerxes:—

"Asia's brave hosts
A Mede* first led. The virtues of his son†
Fixt firm the empire; for his temperate zeal
Breathed prudence. Cyrus third‡ by fortune graced,
Adorned the throne, and blessed his grateful friends
With peace. He to his mighty monarchy
Joined Lydia and the Phrygians; to his power
Ionia bent reluctant, but the gods
With victory his gentle virtues crowned.
His son§ then wore the regal diadem.
Next to disgrace his country, and to stain
The splendid glories of the ancient throne,
Rose Mardus.‖ Him with righteous vengeance fired,
Artaphranes, and his confederate chiefs
Crushed in his palace. Maraphis¶ assumed
The sceptre. After him Artaphrenes**
Me†† next, to the exalted eminence,
Crowning my great ambition fortune raised.
In many a glorious field, my glittering spear
Flamed in the van of Persia's numerous hosts;
But never wrought such ruin in the state
As Xerxes‡‡ my son. He, in all the pride of youth,
Listens to youthful counsels, my commands
No more remembered: hence, my hoary friends,
Not the whole line of Persia's sceptred lords,
(You know it well) so wasted her brave sons."

POTTER'S ÆSCHYLUS.

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* Cyaxares. † Astyages. ‡ Cyrus.
§ Cambyses. ‖ Smerdis Magus. ¶ Maraphis.
** Artaphernes. †† Darius Hystaspes. ‡‡ Xerxes.

It is supposed that in the first year of the reign of Cyaxares, or B. C. 640, that the army of Nebuchodonosor was defeated in the plains of Bethulia. Cyaxares, who had well established himself on the throne of Media, and was master of Upper Asia, knew how to turn this event to his account. Before they had recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown, eager to revenge his father's defeat and death, he marched upon and laid siege to Nineveh, defeating the Assyrian army who came out to oppose him.

The city was on the point of falling into his hands, when he was obliged to raise the siege, by reason of a Scythian invasion and victory as here related by Herodotus: "When Cyaxares was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprised by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians* from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

"From the lake Mœtis an expeditious traveller may pass to the river Phasis, among the Colchians, in the space of thirty days, [Major Rennell, says twenty:] it requires less time to pass into Media from Colchis, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspirians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this route, but leaving Mount Caucasus on the right, passed through the high country by a much longer one. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia."

The Scythians retained the dominion of Asia for twenty-eight years, when they lost it by their licentiousness and neglect. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greatest part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication, and the Medes thus recovered their possessions and ancient importance.

The Scythians who were not at the feast, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Alyattes, who received them with humanity. This gave rise to a war between the Median and Lydian monarchs, which raged more or less fiercely for five years.

* Larcher says: "The history of the Scythians is remarkably obscure. Justin, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes coincides with Herodotus; at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a slight mention of this expedition of Madyas; but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians; I should rather think a mistake has been made by some copyist."

The Lydian war commenced, B. C. 608, about which time, probably, Cyaxares, and his ally, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, renewed the siege of Nineveh, and took it, B. C. 606, as related in the history of the Assyrians, page 112.

During the Lydian war many battles were fought with equal success on both sides. In the sixth year, however, B. C. 603, it was brought to a crisis. During an obstinate battle, says Herodotus, the day suddenly became night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this alteration, or eclipse, to the Ionians. The Lydians and Medes, seeing darkness take the place of light, desisted from the sanguinary strife, and showed an inclination on both sides to come to terms of peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, seeing this, acted as mediators; and they expedited the treaty, and confirmed it by a marriage, persuaded, that treaties cannot be lasting, without a powerful bond of union. They engaged Alyattes to give Aryenis, his daughter, in marriage to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares.

Two years after, B. C. 601, Cyaxares died, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

ASTYAGES, OR KAI KAUS,

who, according to Æschylus, Herodotus, and several oriental historians, was the son of Cyaxares, though others say the grandson.

The reign of Astyages was very extended, continuing for thirty-five years, or till B. C. 566. But though his reign was thus long, there are no particulars handed down to us, worthy of credit, respecting it, except his repulsing the Babylonians, who, under the conduct of Evil Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, had made an inroad into his territories.

Astyages had two children, whose names are famous in history: these were, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandane, by a former marriage. Mandane was married, during her father's lifetime, to Cambyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia, from which union sprang the celebrated Cyrus.

Herodotus represents Astyages, during the course of his reign, as foolish, mad, and infatuated. His accounts of his actions, however, are a tissue of the strangest absurdities and contrarieties, refuting themselves. They are, moreover, in opposition to Æschylus, Xenophon, Josephus, the Persian historians,

and, above all, to Scripture; and therefore they are omitted in these pages. Astyages was succeeded in his kingdom by

CYAXARES II., FRAIBORZ, OR DARIUS THE MEDE,

who came to the throne at the age of forty-nine years. Of this prince, Dr. Hales says, "Being naturally of an easy, indolent disposition, and fond of his amusements, he left the burden of military affairs, and the care of the government, to Cyrus, his nephew and son-in-law, who married his only daughter, and was therefore doubly entitled to succeed him." In his latter days, indeed, he seems to have been governed by his nephew and heir, Cyrus, "by that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones."

In the thirteenth year of his reign, or B. C. 553, Belshazzar having been slain, Darius succeeded him on the throne of Babylon. The first act of his sovereignty, according to Berosus, was the appointment of Nabonadius, a Babylonian nobleman, not allied to the royal family, to be king, or viceroy, under him, according to the established policy of the Medes and Persians, to conciliate the good-will of his new subjects, in leaving them to be governed by a native prince.

Horne, remarking on the truth with which the characters of kings are delineated in the book of Daniel, observes, that Xenophon "represents Cyaxares as weak and pliable, but of a cruel temper, easily managed for the most part, yet ferocious in his anger. Is not this Darius? the same Darius who allowed his nobles to make laws for him, and then repented?—suffered Daniel to be cast into the lion's den, and then spent a night in lamentation for him; and at last, in strict conformity with Xenophon's description, condemned to death not only his false counsellors, but also their wives and children?"

This is one of the remarkable coincidences in which the writings of profane and sacred historians harmonize.

Daniel, who contributed so materially to the accession of Darius, was naturally in high favour with him. Accordingly, on his next appointment of the presidents of the provinces, he set Daniel at their head, and designed, on account of his consummate wisdom, to set him over the whole united realm, Dan. vi. 1—3.

But worldly distinctions are not a bower of roses, under which the possessor, though pious and upright, may rest without fear of being disturbed. And so Daniel found. His elevation and integrity aroused the jealousy of those beneath

him, (for it is a strong desire to be above, which makes people uneasy beneath,) and they confederated against him. At first, they sought for some occasion in his public conduct, that they might accuse him; but they sought in vain: his probity, diligence, and faithfulness to the duties of his function, were perfect. Having thus no fault against him, they determined to make his piety the matter of accusation, and for this purpose they plotted a very artful scheme. It was the practice of Daniel, amidst all the worldly cares that pressed upon him, to retire to his chamber, which looked towards Jerusalem, to pray, three times a day. This his enemies knew; and they were well assured, also, that he would not forego his practice, though death should stare him in the face. They therefore proposed a decree to Darius, to this effect—That whosoever should ask any petition of God or man for thirty days, save of the monarch himself, should be cast into a den of lions. To this proposal, so flattering to the vanity of an ambitious spirit, without suspecting their intentions, Darius consented. He signed the decree, and by that act it was made

> "Irrevocable as the stedfast law
> Of Mede and Persian, which can never change."
> MOORE.

Human prudence would have dictated the expediency of refraining prayer till thirty days had passed away. But Daniel was not left to the guidance of so pitiful a taper as human prudence. On his soul the light of religion shed its refulgent rays: he well knew that God could protect him from danger, or, if he saw proper to permit him to suffer, would take him to himself. When he heard of the decree, he neither discontinued his practice, nor made a secret of his devotions. This his adversaries soon discovered, and the report was laid before Darius. The misguided monarch now saw the error into which he had fallen, and he endeavoured to save his faithful minister: but it was too late; the edict could not be reversed, and his accusers were clamorous for his execution. The monarch, therefore, gave the order, expressing this assurance to Daniel, when he was thrown into the den of lions, "Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee," Dan. vi. 10—17.

The next morning, after a night of mourning and fasting, the king arose very early, and went in haste to the den of lions; and when he came to it, he cried to Daniel: "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest

continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" The prophet answered triumphantly in the affirmative: "My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt."

The king was exceeding glad; and he retaliated the same punishment upon his accusers, their wives, and their children; whom the lions instantly devoured, breaking their bones to pieces before they reached the bottom of the den, ver. 18—24.

Darius now made a decree in honour of the religion of Daniel, in which he acknowledged the God of Daniel, to be the only living God in heaven and on earth, ver. 25—28.

Soon after this, B. C. 551, Cyaxares died, and the kingdom of Media, etc., became united to that of Persia, under the rule of "Cyrus the Persian."

Thus kingdoms pass away, and kingdoms rise,
Casting their shadowy forms before our eyes:
So let them pass: for in the skies there's one,
That has no need of moon or of the sun,
And that will last for aye! To this fair seat
Turn, pilgrim wand'rer on this earth, thy feet.
Hark! from on high a gentle voice says, 'Come!'
It is thy Saviour's—make it then thy home.

THE

HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF LYDIA.

Whence this country obtained the name of Lydia is not determined. According to a tradition of the people who inhabited it, as quoted by Josephus, it was from Lud, the fourth son of Shem. Ancient writers, however, tell us, that Lydia was first called Mæonia, or Meonia, from Meon, king of Phrygia and Lydia, and that it was known by that name till the reign of Atys, when it was called Lydia, from his son Lydus. Bochart, finding in his collection of Phenician words, the verb Luz, which signifies "to wind," and observing that the country is watered by the Meander, so famous for its windings, concludes that it was thence named Lydia, or Ludia. To support this hypothesis, he contends, that the Phenicians, and after them Moses, who in the descriptions of countries made use of their terms, gave the name of Lud, not only to Lydia on the banks of the Meander, but likewise to Ethiopia, where the Nile, according to Herodotus, has as many windings as the Meander itself. As these two countries, therefore, lying on the two most winding rivers known to the ancients, were named Lud, which signifies "to wind," who can doubt, says he, that they derived their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? With reference to the ancient name Meonia, he conceives it is a Greek translation of the Phenician word Lud, which is partly borne out by Stephanus, who derives the name of Meonia from Meon, the ancient name of the Meander. Some imagine the

word Meonia, to be a translation of a Hebrew word signifying "metal," because that country was, in ancient times, celebrated for its mines.

The country of Lydia was situated in Asia Minor. Its boundaries cannot be distinctly defined, they having differed at various times. Under the Roman empire, it was bounded on the south by Caria, from which it was separated by the river Meander; on the north, by a range of mountains known under the name of Sardene, which divided it from Mysia; on the east, by Phrygia; and on the west, by the Ægean; though the tract of country along the coast was more commonly known by the name of Ionia. What the ancients denominate the kingdom of Lydia was not, however, confined between these narrow boundaries, but extended from the river Halys to the Ægean sea. Pliny's description includes Ælia, lying between the Hermus and Caicus, a river of Mysia; but this does not appear to be correct.

Lydia was intersected by mountain ranges, running from east to west; of which the principal, called Messogis by Strabo, is a branch of Taurus, and forms the northern boundary of the valley of Meander. Another chain of mountains, known to the ancients under the name of Tmolus, runs parallel to the Messogis, through the centre of the country, and terminates on the western coast, opposite the island of Chios. A branch of Tmolus, called Sipylus, stretches more to the north-west, towards the towns of Cuma and Phocæa. The chain of mountains separating Lydia from Mysia appears to be a continuation of the northern range, known in Bithynia by the name of Olympus, and in Mysia by Ida and Temnoa.

Lydia was thus divided into two valleys; the southern between Messogis and Tmolus, through which the Caystrus flows; and the northern, between Tmolus and Sardene, watered by the Hermus and its tributaries, the Hyllus, Pactolus, and Coganus. The former of these valleys is of moderate extent; but the latter forms a plain of great magnitude.

MOUNTAINS.

The principal mountains of Lydia are the Tmolus, now called by the Turks, Bouz Dagh, or the Cold Mountain, and the Sipylus. The former is chiefly noted for its producing the herb saffron; the latter is celebrated in heathen mythology. It is said, that the goddess Sipylene, worshipped anciently by the pagan inhabitants, derived her name from it;

or rather, it was Cybele herself who was so called, because here worshipped in a particular manner. Hence, on the reverse of almost all the medals of ancient Magnesia, Cybele is represented sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. Plutarch says, that Mount Sipylus was also called *Ceraunius*, or, the "Thundering Mountain," because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of Asia. Hence, also, on the reverse of some of the Magnesian medals, is found Jupiter armed with thunderbolts. Pausanius declares that Jupiter was buried on this mountain, and that he saw his monument! He also climbed the mountain, in hopes of discovering the rock into which Niobe had been turned! So much were the ancient writers given to the fabulous.

RIVERS.

Some of the rivers of Lydia demand a notice; though it must be said of them, that they are more celebrated in the pages of ancient writers than many other rivers more worthy of notice.

Meander.—This river had its rise near Celænæ, in Phrygia, and flowed through Caria and Ionia, into the Ægean Sea, receiving in its course the waters of the Marsyas, Lycus, Eudon, Lethæus, etc. It is celebrated by the ancient poets for its windings, from whence it derived its name, and which amount to six hundred. Lucan, describing the nations that took part with Pompey, says:—

"Then Strymon* was forsook, whose wintry flood,
Commits to warmer Nile his feathered brood;
Then bands from Cone, and from Peuce† came,
Where Ister loses his divided stream:
From Idalis where cold Caicus flows,‡
And where Arisbe,§ thin, her sandy surface strews;
From Pytane and sad Celænæ's‖ walls,
Where now in streams the vanquish'd Marsyas falls;

* Strymon was a river of Thrace, whose banks abounded with cranes. It is now called Ischar in the European Turkey.

† These were two islands amongst the mouths of the Ister, or Danube.

‡ Commentators explain the *Tellus Idalis* in this place, to be the territory about Mount Ida, which must be a mistake: for Caicus is a river in *Mysia Major*, a great way distant from Ida.

§ A town in Troas.

‖ Pytane was a town near the river Caicus, and Celænæ was a city near the head of the river Marsyos: the fabulous story of which is, that Marsyas, a celebrated piper of Celænæ, found the pipes Pallas had thrown away in disdain, and pragmatically set up for as good a musician

Still his lamenting progeny deplore
Minerva's tuneful gift and Phœbus' power:
While through steep banks, his torrent swift he leads,
And with Meander winds among the meads."—Book iii.

According to some authors, Dædalus owes the first idea of his famous labyrinth to the river Meander, to which we find a reference in Ovid's Metamorphoses.

"As soft Meander's wanton current plays,
When through the Phrygian fields he loosely strays:
Backward and forward rolls the dimpled tide,
Seeming, at once, two differeut ways to glide;
While circling streams their former banks survey,
And waters past succeeding waters see:
Now floating to the sea with downward course,
Now pointing upward to its ancient source.
Such was the work, so intricate the place,
That scarce the workman all its turns could trace:
And Dædalus was puzzled how to find
The secret ways, of what himself designed."—Book viii.

Caystrus.—This is a rapid river of Asia, rising in Lydia, which, after a meandering course, falls into the Ægean sea, near Ephesus. Like the Meander, it is celebrated in the pages of the ancient poets, who say, that its banks and neighbourhood were the resort of the "stately sailing swan." Thus, in the story of Phaeton, Ovid says:—

"The swans, that on Cayster often tried
Their tuneful songs, now sung their last, and died."—Book i.

Hermus.—This river is thought to originate in the western extremity of the central plateaus of Asia Minor. It flows near Sardes, and receives the waters of the Pactolus and Hyllus; after which it falls into the Ægean sea. According to the poets, its sands were covered with gold. Thus, Virgil, celebrating the fertility of Italy, says:—

"But neither Median woods, (a pleasant land,)
Fair Ganges, Hermus *rolling golden sand*,
Nor Bactria, nor the richer Indian fields,
Nor all the gummy stores Arabia yields,
Nor any foreign earth of greater name,
Can with sweet Italy contend in fame."--Georg. ii.

Halys.—The Halys, now the Kizil-Ermak, is described as taking its rise by two branches in the higher ranges of the

as Apollo, by whom he was first vanquished and then flayed. Some compassionate nymphs, however, who loved his music better than that of Apollo, turned him into a river, which falls into the Meander.

Taurus, in Cappadocia. It received the name of Halys from the saltness of its waters before it enters the sea. It is now called the Kizil-Ermak, or Red River; but its true name is said to be *Aito-Su.* Where Kinnier crossed it, between Woiwode and Vizir Kapri, it was about three hundred feet broad, and this, it must be remembered, was at a place where the stream was contracted, near the ruins of a fine old bridge. Tournefort describes it to be, at its mouth, about the width of the Seine at Paris. Its whole course was probably four hundred miles. According to a French authority, it falls into the Black Sea by one mouth, at the boundary of Pontus and Paphlagonia.

The Halys is the largest river of Asia Minor, and in the days of Crœsus it formed the western limit of the Median, and the eastern limit of the Lydian empires. It is celebrated for the defeat of Crœsus, who was deceived by this quibbling oracle: "If Crœsus passes over the Halys, he shall destroy a great empire." That empire was his own!

Pactolus.—The Pactolus is a tributary to the Hermus. Taking its rise in Mount Tmolus, it falls into that river after it has watered the city of Sardes. By Pliny it is called Timolus. The poets say that Midas washed himself in this river, when he turned into gold whatever he touched; and from that circumstance it ever after rolled golden sand, and received the name of *Chrysorrhoas.*

"The king, instructed, to the fount retires,
But with the golden charm the stream inspires:
For while this quality the man forsakes,
An equal power the limpid water takes;
Informs with veins of gold the neighbouring land,
And glides along a bed of golden sand."
OVID MET. xi.

It would appear, from history, that gold was anciently found both among the sands of the Pactolus and Hermus; and Lucan, in his Pharsalia, says truly:

"Proud Lydia's plains send forth her wealthy sons,
Pactolus there, and golden Hermus, runs:
From earth's dark womb hid treasures they convey,
And, rich in yellow waters, rise to day."

Strabo observes, however, that the Pactolus had no golden sands in his age.

FERTILITY, ETC.

The fertility of Lydia, and the salubrity of its climate, are frequently mentioned by ancient writers. The air, especially near Mount Tmolus, is much celebrated in their pages. It is said that it was so wholesome, that the inhabitants generally lived to the age of 150 years; and that the neighbouring country was very prolific, and produced an abundance of odoriferous flowers. Mount Tmolus itself was celebrated for the herb saffron, to which we find an illusion in the Georgics of Virgil:

"Thus Tmolus is with yellow saffron crown'd."

The account of ancient writers, concerning the fertility of the ground, and the salubrity of the air of Lydia, is confirmed by the reports of modern travellers. Chishall speaks of the country between Tmolus and Messogis, as a "region inexpressibly delicious." It would appear, indeed, that the soil of Lydia, by reason of its many rivers, was very fertile, and that the country abounded in all kinds of grain, and was celebrated for its excellent wines.

Some authors state, that Lydia was enriched with many mines, whence Crœsus obtained his immense wealth; but there is no proof that the Lydians ever carried on the operation of mining. It is most probable that they obtained their gold chiefly from the river Pactolus, which, according to Herodotus, washed it down from Mount Tmolus.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF LYDIA.

The most important towns of Lydia were, Sardis, Philadelphia, Thyatira, and Magnesia.

SARDIS.

Sardis was the capital of the kingdom of Lydia, in the days of Crœsus, who, when defeated in the plain before this city, by Cyrus, was master of all the nations within the river Halys. The dominion of this territory then passed into the hands of the Persians, and Sardis became the residence of the Satraps, to whom the government was committed; it was also the chosen resort of the Persian monarchs, when in this part of their empire. It surrendered to Alexander, after he had defeated the Persians in the battle of the Granicus; and it continued a great city under the Romans, until the terrible earthquake, which happened in the days of Tiberius. By that emperor's orders, however, it was rebuilt; but subsequent calamities of the same description, with the ravages and spoliations of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks, have reduced it to a heap of ruins, in which, notwithstanding, some remains of its ancient splendour may be traced.

Sardis, which is now a miserable village, called Sart, is situated on the northern side of Mount Tmolus, having a pleasant and spacious plain before it, well watered with several streams, flowing from a neighbouring hill to the south-east. These streams fall into the Pactolus, rising to the east from the same hill, and which, with its collected waters, increases the stream of the Hermus, or Sarabat, into which it falls.

Sardis is celebrated in Christian history, as one of the "Seven Apocalyptic Churches," against which the evangelist John lifted up his warning voice: "And unto the an-

gel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches," Rev. iii. 1—6.

How literally this threatening has been accomplished, history and the testimony of travellers declare. This once opulent city is now dwindled into an insignificant village, the houses of which are few and mean. The present inhabitants are mostly shepherds, who tend their flocks and herds as they feed in the spacious plains. "If I were asked," says Arundel, in his 'Discoveries in Asia Minor,' "what impresses the mind most strongly in beholding Sardis, I should say, its indescribable *solitude*, like the darkness of Egypt, darkness that could be *felt*. So the deep solitude of the spot, once the 'lady of the kingdoms,' produces a corresponding feeling of *desolate abandonment* in the mind, which can never be forgotten;" The Rev. J. Hartley also remarks: "The ruins are, with one exception, more entirely gone to decay than those of most of the ancient cities which we have visited. *No Christians reside on the spot;* two Greeks, only, work in a mill here, and a few wretched Turkish huts are scattered among the ruins. We saw the churches of St. John and the Virgin, the theatre, and the building styled the palace of Crœsus; but the most striking object at Sardis is the temple of Cybele. I was filled with wonder and awe at beholding the two stupendous columns of this edifice, which are still remaining: they are silent but impressive witnesses of the power and splendour of antiquity." Southward of the village of Sart, at the bottom of a small hill, considerable ruins are discovered. Six pillars are standing there, twenty-one feet in circumference, and thirty in height; and there are several vast stones belonging to pillars now prostrate. In

the standing pillars, the stones are so exactly enclosed, that they seem as if they were all composed, each of one stone. Eastward to these ruins, a castle in ruins speaks to the beholder of desolation. The ascent to this pile is so steep, that the approach must be made by a circuitous path. In ancient times, it was doubtless considered as inaccessible and impregnable. There is a Greek inscription within the castle, upon the chapiter of a pillar, to the honour of the emperor Tiberius, who is considered its second founder, its breaches having been repaired by his directions. Eastward to the castle are the ruins of a great church, and northward of these are other vast ruins; the walls still remaining having several divisions and apartments, all of which take up a large compass of ground. This is thought to have been either the palace of the governor, the seat of justice, or a public hall, as a place of meeting for the citizens; but it is impossible now to decide which. Other ruins are met with in this direction, from which circumstance, some conclude that the greatest part of the city lay in this quarter.

The Turks have a mosque at Sart, which was formerly a Christian church, at the entrance of which are several curious pillars of polished marble. A few Christians live amongst them in the capacity of gardeners and labourers; but they have no church, nor any one capacitated either to preach the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, or to administer the ordinances of the gospel. So awfully, so literally has the threat been verified, that, because she had a name to live, while in reality she was dead, and because she attended not to the voice of warning mercy, the candlestick should be removed out of its place. A missionary, named Lindsay, who recently visited Sardis, states, that the very few Christians who lived in its vicinity wished to settle in the plain, and erect a church on the site of Sardis; but being prevented from this by Kara Osman Oglou, the Turkish governor of the place, they erected one on the plain, within sight of ancient Sardis. At this place, he says, which has gradually risen into a little village, named Tatar-Keny, they maintain a priest; and thither the few Christians, forming together a congregation of forty persons, resort for public worship. Another missionary, however, who visited Sart more recently, states, that there is not now in that place even one Christian family. All have defiled their garments by apostasy. Let us take warning by their example.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia was situated about twenty-five miles east by south of Sardis, upon a branch of Mount Tmolus; at which spot there are still to be seen the relics of a noble city, called, by the Turks, Allah Shehr, "the beautiful city," or "the city of God." It was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus.

The voice of the evangelist was also directed to Philadelphia, but no thunders were heard in the sound. "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth; I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches," Rev. iii. 7—13.

The infidel Gibbon unwittingly bears his testimony to the fulfilment of this prophecy. He says, "Among the [inland] Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect; a column in a scene of ruins! At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and their freedom above fourscore years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans."

The American missionaries, Fisk and Parsons, when they visited the place in 1820, were informed by the Greek Archbishop Gabriel, that there were five churches in the town, besides twenty which were either old or small, and had fallen into disuse. The number of houses is estimated at 3,000, of

which 250 are inhabited by Greeks, the rest by Turks. One of the present mosques was pointed out to the missionaries, as the church in which the primitive Christians of Philadelphia assembled, to whom St. John wrote.

Philadelphia, as it now exists, covers a considerable extent of ground, running up the slope of several hills. Travellers concur in describing the streets as filthy, and the houses mean; but the scenery around is represented as beautiful in the extreme. Before it lies one of the most extensive and richest plains in Asia. One of the most remarkable ruins of antiquity now seen there is a single column, which evidently belonged to another structure than the present church. "Which," says an elegant writer, "taken with the present name of the town, forcibly brings to mind that part of the message to the church of Philadelphia which we find in the 12th verse."

THYATIRA.

Thyatira was situated on the banks of a stream that runs south-west to the Hermus, or Sarabat, twenty-five British miles north-west of Sardis, and forty miles south-east of Pergamus. According to Strabo, it was a Macedonian colony, and it was the Pelopeia and Euhippia of Pliny. By Ptolemy it is denominated, in his list of Lydian cities, Thyatira Metropolis. It is now called Ak-hissar, or "The White Castle;" perhaps denoting the city of the Ak-Su-Leucos, or "White River," on which it stands. It contains a population of 5,000 souls.

Thyatira was another of the Seven Churches addressed by the evangelist John, whose warning voice foretold its desolation in these emphatic words: "And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass; I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I

am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden. But that which ye have already hold fast till I come. And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father. And I will give him the morning star. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches," Rev. ii. 18—29.

At the present day, there is not one Christian among the inhabitants of Ak-hissar, all being Mohammedans; and the Christian churches which remained have long since been converted into mosques, and the columns of marble which once adorned the public buildings are now used for inns and bazars. Its ancient Pagan inhabitants were worshippers of the goddess Diana, as appears by several classic monuments, with Greek inscriptions, erected by Roman governors. The ancient remains of Thyatira are more meagre than any of the seven churches. The American missionary Fisk thus describes the place: "Thyatira is situated near a small river, a branch of the Caicus, in the centre of an extensive plain. At the distance of three or four miles, it is almost completely surrounded by mountains. The houses are low; many of them of mud or earth. Excepting the Motsellim's palace, there is scarcely a decent house in the place. The streets are narrow and dirty, and every thing indicates poverty and degradation. The Turks have destroyed all remains of the ancient church; and even the place where it stood is now unknown. At present there are in the town, 1,000 houses for which taxes are paid to the government."

Gibbon has attempted to deny the existence of the church at Thyatira, and consequently the authenticity of the Apocalypse, on the authority of the Alogians and of Epiphanius. But the existence of such a church is proved by the learned Dr. Stosch, whom Gibbon never attempted to refute. Lydia. moreover, who was converted at Philippi, is denominated a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira; evidently meaning, that that city was the place of her ordinary residence, and that the purple manufactured there was carried by her to the market of Philippi for sale, where she had a house during

her abode there, till the article was disposed of at the annual fair, which continued many days. On this subject the Rev. J. Hartley observes: "The sacred writer of the Acts of the Apostles informs us, that Lydia was a seller of purple in the city of Thyatira; and the discovery of an inscription here which makes mention of the dyers, has been considered important in connexion with this passage. I know not if other travellers have remarked, that even at the present time, Thyatira is famous for dyeing. In answer to inquiries on the subject, I was informed that the cloths which are dyed scarlet here, are considered superior to any others furnished by Asia Minor; and that large quantities are sent weekly to Smyrna, for the purpose of commerce." Now, there can be no doubt, that Lydia returned to Thyatira, after she and her household had been baptized, and that, by the church in her house, others would be brought to the knowledge of that Saviour whom she had found so precious to her soul. Nor can there be any doubt that the zealous and great apostle of the Gentiles, in his travels through Mysia and Lydia, would visit Thyatira. As *all* Asia, indeed, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of God from his lips, when he was two years professedly residing at Ephesus, it can hardly be imagined that those of Thyatira, which was only seventy English miles distant, would be excepted. The locality of Thyatira, also, with reference to Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, and other places, where churches had been planted by the apostles Paul and John, renders it probable that one was planted there. Finally, Tertullian, who wrote before the Alogians, admits its early existence; and it is also mentioned by Origen in his homilies. There is no ground, therefore, to call in question the existence of the Church of Thyatira.

MAGNESIA.

Magnesia and Sipylum, now Magnissa, is thirty-five miles due west from Sardis, and eighteen north-east of Smyrna. It is situated at the foot of a lofty and rugged mountain, (the ancient *Mons Sipylus*, now called the Sipuli Dagh,) that rises behind it, and abruptly terminates the vast plain, which runs from the north of Ak-hissar, the ancient Thyatira, to this place. It contains, at the least, twenty-seven mosques, and most of the houses are placed at the foot, and some on the sides of the mountain. It has been for eighty years, with all the territory

from the Meander to the Propontis, under the equitable government of the family of Cara Osman Oglou.

On the slope of Mount Sipylus, and overlooking the city, are the ruins of an ancient castle, with its outworks. The bazar is well stored with fruits and vegetables, which shows the fertility of the country around. The site of the city itself, however, from the excessive heats and frequent floods of the Sarabát, generates malaria, whence fever and ague affect the inhabitants to an alarming extent.

Sir William Ousely represents the inn, or Turkish khan, at which he lodged in this place, as he journeyed from Constantinople to Smyrna, as the best he had met with in the east. It was a spacious building, forming a regular square, with an open court, where a richly ornamented fountain in the centre furnished a supply of water. The chambers were numerous, and the one in which he slept was on the upper floor, where the door of each chamber opened from a railed gallery, projecting into the square, and supported on pillars and arches. Between these arches, and over the colonnade, were receptacles, cut with divisions and small holes, for the accommodation of sparrows, with which, he states, every compartment was fully tenanted; they being daily fed by the Turks, and never molested.

It may be mentioned, that there was another city of the same name seated on the Meander, and which was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many buildings demonstrate. At this place, the great Themistocles died, it being one of the three towns allotted to him by Artaxerxes for his subsistence, during his exile.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF LYDIA.

THE GOVERNMENT, ETC.

THE Lydians were ruled by kings in the earliest ages of the world. Their proper history, however, only commences, as will be hereafter explained, about B. C. 718.

The government of Lydia, so far as can be gathered from the conduct of their monarchs, seems to have been despotic in the highest degree, and the crown hereditary. This their brief history exhibits, and the reader is therefore referred to that section for further information on this point.

The character of the Lydians varied at different periods. under Crœsus, and some of his predecessors, they were evidently a warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread the terror of their arms far and wide. Afterwards, being subdued by the Persians, and enjoined by Cyrus, according to the advice given him by Crœsus, to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only as had a natural tendency to corrupt their manners and enervate their courage, they became a voluptuous and effeminate race of people.

Herodotus gives the following account of the origin of this change of character. The Lydians, not long after they were subdued by Cyrus, at the instigation of one Pactyas, a Lydian, whom Cyrus had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of Crœsus, at Sardis, rebelled. News of this revolt being brought to Cyrus, as he was leading his army against the Babylonians, Bactrians, and Egyptians, he resolved to march back into Lydia, sell all the Lydians for slaves, and put an end to the existence of the nation. He imparted his resolution to Crœsus, at that time his prisoner, who, deploring the utter ruin of his country, entreated him to forgive the Lydians, and to revenge himself on Pactyas alone,

by whom they had been misled. At the same time, Crœsus advised Cyrus, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the Lydians the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only as would ensure their enervation.* This evil advice, more ruinous in its results than that which Cyrus himself meditated, was followed, and in a short time the Lydians became the most corrupt and feeble nation under the sun.

> "So coin grows smooth, in traffic current pass'd.
> Till Cesar's image is effaced at last."—COWPER.

Some have concluded from Jeremiah xlvi. 9, that the arms of the ancient Lydians were bows and arrows; but in this they err. The original from whence the word "Lydians" is translated in this verse, is *Ludim*, and the people denoted must not be confounded with the Lydians of Asia Minor, with whom the Egyptians and other African nations usually associated with them could have no connexion. There were two Luds, one the son of Shem, from whom these Lydians are descended; and the other, the son of Misraim, the settler of Egypt, whose descendants are supposed to have settled in Africa, and near Egypt. It is to these latter people that the prophet alludes, when he speaks of "the Lydians, that handle and bend the bow."

Like the bulk of mankind, in those ancient days, the Lydians were gross idolaters. It would appear that they worshipped the goddess Diana, as they did also Jupiter and Cybele at Magnesia, under the name of Sypilene. This is evident from the fact, that in the alliance concluded between the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia on the Meander in favour of Seleucus Callinicius, both parties swore, according to the Arundelian marbles, by the goddess Sypilene. In the same city there was a temple of Diana Leucophryna, which, it is said, equalled in magnificence the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus.

The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembled that in use among the Greeks. Apollonius Rhodius has thus described the custom in his poem of the Argonautics:—

* Xerxes, it is said, compelled the Babylonians to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics. Such are among the evil effects of tyranny.

"On splendid seats th' enchantress bade them rest;
But doubts and anxious thoughts her soul possess'd.
Their steps unsounding through the palace pass'd,
The vestal hearth they sought with silent haste;
Then, motionless, with downcast eyes they sate,
As suits the humble suppliant's piteous state.
Stung with reproaches of the conscious mind,
Between her hands the maid her face inclin'd;
While leaning on the hilt, with grief profound,
The youth infixed his falchion in the ground;
Nor lifts to vengeful Heaven his drooping eyes,
While gloomy thoughts for slain Absyrtus rise.
Fair Circe marked the deep desponding mood;
She recognised the fugitives from blood;
Revered the suppliant's right with pious awe;
And bow'd submiss to Jove's imperial law,
Who makes the suppliant his peculiar care,
And e'en in punishment inclines to spare.
Th' atoning sacrifices she began,
That stains of blood remove from wretched man;
For refuge when he flies to Vesta's shrine,
And seeks remission from the powers divine.
High o'er their heads, the little swine she held,
New from the dam, and paps with nurture swell'd.
She pierced his throat, and cleansing blood with blood,
Her suppliants tinctured in the purple flood.
Then ceremonies fill'd the solemn hour,
To calm the wrath of every vengeful power;
And lustral Jove was call'd, at whose command
Oblations pure absolve the slayer's hand.
This done, her train, full many a Naiad maid
The ablutions from the splendid dome convey'd.
Within to sober vows, and whisper'd prayer
That bid the furies drop the scourge, and spare,
The flame with salted cakes the enchantress fed;
And sweet libations o'er the offering shed
Of mighty power, to sooth the gliding dead;
Where a stranger's death their hands embrued,
Or the dire stain from kindred blood accrued.
The solemn expiations were complete.
She called each suppliant to the polish'd seat
Full in her view and near.—PRESTON'S TRANSLATION.

This is one of the many instances to be met with in profane history of men acknowledging their guiltiness before their heathen gods, and seeking to divert Divine displeasure by the offer of a representative victim. And the question has been asked, Whence did the ancient heathen derive this institution? The question is natural, for the slaughter and burning of an inoffensive animal does not seem a very obvious process, to the first exercise of natural reason, for diverting the Divine vengeance. It is, however, easily answered. As mankind descended from one common parent, and as the

patriarchs, from Abel downward, by Divine command, offered up such sacrifices, the practice was doubtless derived traditionally from them. But, unhappily, the design of the institution was unknown to the heathen world. Originally, it was intended to shadow forth the atonement which, at the appointed time, should be made for the sins of the world by Jesus Christ. This was hidden from their sight, and hence they conceived that a poor dumb animal was able to stand between them and offended Deity. A notion of vicarious punishment — that sin might be acknowledged, and the Divine indignation against the sinner be appeased by sacrifice —was prevalent among all nations of mankind; but one nation only possessed the true knowledge of the purport of the institution, namely, the Jews, who were taught in the Mosaical dispensation to look through types and shadows to the bleeding sacrifice of the Lamb of God. Hence it was, that good old Simeon, who devoutly waited for this "consolation of Israel" in the temple of his God, exclaimed in the spirit of prophecy, as he held the infant Jesus in his arms, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel," Luke ii. 29—32. This Light is now shining around us in all its glory. The sacrifice has been made; and we are daily directed to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. Have we, or have we not, accepted his sacrifice? Reader, let conscience reply.

One law among the ancient Lydians deserves to be mentioned, and to be cherished in the memory. This was the punishment of idleness as a crime, and their inuring their children, from their very infancy, to hardships. In the former clause of this law, they deserve to be imitated, even by a Christian people. If the youth of our country were generally brought up to habits of industry, how much vice and misery would be avoided. Suffered to be idle, as they are in too many instances, they become the prey of the designing, a curse to their parents, and a pest to society. This is a crying evil in our day, and demands correction. Restraint over our offspring is required at our hands, and the parent who neglects it inflicts a moral injury upon his child and his country, while he exposes himself to the wrath of his Maker. If heathen parents appreciated the results of industrious habits, surely Christian parents ought not to undervalue them.

They should keep their offspring employed in their learning and other occupations, suited to their tender age, that they may be preserved from temptation and ruin. All nature teaches the lesson of industry. The sun, moon, and stars, are constant in the performance of their Creator's will. The earth, also, on which we live, unweariedly travels onward in its course, and the very insects teach us a lesson of industry. Shall man disregard the lesson?

It may be mentioned, that the Lydians are said by the Greeks to have been the first people who put a stamp upon gold and silver, and that they claimed to be the inventors of the games which were prevalent in Greece in the days of Herodotus, and which were called *Ludi* by the Romans.

COMMERCE.

The Lydians appear to have enjoyed great commercial prosperity, and to have possessed an abundance of the precious metals. Their gold, as before intimated, is said to have been obtained from the rivers Hermus and Pactolus, which washed it down from the mountains, whence they derived their sources. The splendour of the monarchy of Lydia, and the commodious situation of the country, would indicate that commerce once flourished in Lydia to an eminent degree. So, also, would the riches of their princes, and of private individuals, the accounts of which seem to border on the fabulous. Herodotus says, that one Pythius not only entertained Xerxes and his army, while he was marching with his great army to invade Greece, but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, about 700,000*l.* sterling, and 3,993,000 pieces of gold, bearing the stamp of Darius, to defray the charges of that war. The same Pythius, he says, had presented Darius, father of Xerxes, a plane-tree and a vine, or imitations thereof, of massive gold; and he was reckoned, next to the kings of Persia, one of the richest men in the world.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF LYDIA.

The early history of Lydia is related by Herodotus, who informs us that three dynasties ruled in that country—the Atyadæ, or descendants from Atys, from the earliest times to B. C. 1223; the Heraclidæ, or the descendants of Hercules, from B. C. 1223 to 718; and Mermnadæ, from B. C. 718 to 548, at which date the country was conquered by Cyrus. The proper history of Lydia, can only be said to begin with the last of these dynasties, since the first two are almost entirely fabulous.

The first monarch in the dynasty of the Mermnadæ, was

GYGES.

Herodotus relates a tale concerning the rise of Gyges to the throne of Lydia, which is too romantic to be here related. Divesting his account, however, of all fable, it may be stated that he appears to have waded to it through blood. With the knowledge of the wife of Candaules, the last of the race of the Heraclidæ, he killed that monarch, and grasped his sceptre. In this particular, Plato's story of Gyges is confirmatory of that of Herodotus.

The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Ly dians. The two parties, however, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges.

As soon as he was established in his authority, Gyges sent various presents to Delphi, a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other offerings of value, Herodotus mentions six golden goblets, weighing thirty talents, the value of which was about 48,000*l.* sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, Gyges carried his arms against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colo-

phon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states, the latter of which he appears to have conquered. These are all the actions recorded of Gyges. He died after a reign of thirty-eight years, or B. C. 680, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Ardyes.

ARDYES.

Herodotus says, this prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the same historian tells us, that the Cimmerians being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel. Ardyes reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son

SADYATTES,

who declared war, immediately after, against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In ancient times, sieges, which were little more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and some times lasted many years. Sadyattes died before he had finished that of Miletus. His death occurred B. C. 619, after a reign of twelve years, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

ALYATTES,

his son, who reigned fifty-seven years.

Alyattes, as before recorded, made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, and attacked and took the cities of Smyrna, and invaded Clazomanæ, in his designs upon which he was greatly disappointed.

Herodotus relates, that Alyattes resumed the war against the Milesians, which his father had commenced, and which he conducted in this manner: "When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into the country to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine," (or, perhaps, to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the sound of one of which was grave, the other acute.) "On his arrival in their territories, he neither pulled down nor burned, nor in any respect injured their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees, and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably

have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions he might be secure of plunder. In this manner, the war was protracted during a period of eleven years, in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats; one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories; another on the plains of Meander."

This war was ended at length in the following manner. Alyattes, upon an answer he had received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his approach, ordered all the corn and other provisions, collected by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal which was agreed upon, to enjoy a general feast, and to exhibit convivial mirth.* The deed was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador, at his arrival, was surprised to see such an abundance in the market, and such joy in the city; and Alyattes, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, immediately raised the siege.

Alyattes had two sons, Crœsus and Pantaleon. The former, who was the younger, and the offspring of his second wife, who was a Carian, succeeded him on his throne, B. C. 562.

It may be mentioned, that near the Lake Gygæa, which is a few miles north of Sardis, now Sart, the immense mound of earth, which his subjects raised to his memory, is still to be seen. Herodotus, who first makes mention of it, says, that the circuit round the base was 3,800 Greek feet, and the width 2,600 feet. The lower part of it was composed of stone, which is now covered by the earth that has fallen down; but the mound still retains its conical form, and rises up like a natural hill. Its dimensions are much larger than those of any similar monuments in Great Britain. The circuit of Silburry hill, which forms so striking an object on

* Beloe, in his translation of Herodotus, says, "A similar artifice is recorded of one of the Roman generals, who, though reduced to the extremest want, ordered all the bread remaining, after a long siege, to be thrown over the walls amongst the enemy. The besiegers, fatigued and exhausted, imagined that their opponents were prepared to hold out much longer, and hastily retired."

the road between Malborough and Calne, is inconsiderable, when compared with this mound. Dr. Chandler conceives, that a considerable treasure might be discovered if the barrows were opened. Other mounds, of various sizes, are found near this, which are conceived to have been raised in memory of the ancient kings of Lydia.

CRŒSUS.

This prince, whose name imports riches, and which is become a proverb, is celebrated in history for the immense wealth which he possessed. Some idea may be formed how great it was, from what Herodotus tells us of his magnificent offering to the temple of Delphi. He collected, says he, a great number of couches, decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold, and vests of purple. All these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes; and as, at the conclusion of this ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were eighteen inches long, the smaller nine; but none of them were less than three inches in thickness, and they were 117 in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold, which weighed ten talents.* It was originally placed in the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands (about B. C. 450) in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

Crœsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand, in the vestibule of the temple; that of silver was placed on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire. The golden goblet weighed nearly nine talents, and the silver was of similar dimensions. The Corinthian treasury also possessed four silver casks, which were presented by Crœsus to Delphi. He presented, also, two basons, one of gold, another of silver; and many other minor presents, among which were some silver dishes,

* These tiles, the lion, and the statue of the breadmaker of Crœsus, were, at a subsequent period, seized by the Phocians, to defray the expenses of their holy war.

and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made bread for the family of Crœsus.*

Many other offerings are said to have been made by Crœsus, to the temples of Thebes, Ephesus, Miletus, etc., all tending to show how vast his riches were. The sources of his wealth, according to Strabo, were certain mines, situated between Pergamus and Atarus, as also from the river Pactolus, whose sands, as they rolled onward, were mingled with gold. But Solomon has well observed,

> "Riches certainly make themselves wings:
> They fly away as an eagle toward heaven."
> *Prov.* xxiii. 5.

So Crœsus found. In one day he was stripped of all his treasures. His history, indeed, strikingly exemplifies another truth which issued from the golden mouth of the wise man:

> "For riches are not for ever:
> And doth the crown endure to every generation?"
> *Prov.* xxvii. 24.

How vain, then, is the pursuit of the riches of this world; and how happy is it for those who can adopt the language of the poet, and say, in Christian sincerity,

> "I am not concern'd to know
> What, to-morrow, fate will do:
> 'Tis enough that I can say,
> I've possess'd myself to-day;
> Then, if haply midnight death
> Seize my flesh, and stop my breath,
> Yet to-morrow I shall be
> Heir to the best part of me.
>
> "Glittering stones, and golden things,
> Wealth and honours, that have wings,
> I could never call my own:
> Riches that the world bestows,
> She can take, and I can lose;

* Plutarch says, that Crœsus honoured this person, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, married a second wife, by whom he had other children. His first wife wished to remove Crœsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Crœsus. The woman informed him of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children, by which means he succeeded his father; and thus acknowledged the fidelity of the woman.

But the treasures that are mine
Lie afar beyond her line.
When I view my spacious soul,
And survey myself a whole,
And enjoy myself alone,
I'm a kingdom of my own."—WATTS.

Crœsus was thirty-five years old when he began to reign. He shared the throne at first with his elder brother, till a Lydian related the following apologue: "The sun procures mankind all the fruits of the earth, and without his heat it would produce nothing; but if there were two suns, there would be reason to fear that every thing would be burned and destroyed." After this, he deposed his brother, and put to death his principal adherent, which was probably the mother of Pantaleon, who had sought his life.

During the first nine years of his reign, Crœsus seems to have progressively subdued almost all the nations which were situated on this side the river Halys. Among these, Herodotus enumerates the Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandinians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians. The Cilicians and the Lycians escaped his yoke.

The first act of hostilities in which Crœsus was engaged, was with the Ephesians, whose capital he besieged. While engaged beneath its walls, the inhabitants of Ephesus committed an act which shows the debasing nature of ancient idolatry. They made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting their walls with a rope to the temple of their goddess! The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating their towns, was to detain their deities by force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it. This belief seems to have been very general. Thus Æschylus makes Eteocles say,

"The gods, they say, prepare
To quit their seats, and leave a vanquish'd town."

The poet Virgil, also, makes Æneas leave the city of Troy, and settle his household gods in another country:

"He said, and brought me, from their blest abodes,
The venerable statues of the gods,
With ancient Vesta, from the sacred choir,
The wreaths and relics of the immortal fire."

Happy are our eyes, that they are not left in such darkness

as this! Thrice happy are we, inasmuch as we know that our God is not confined to temples made with hands—that, as Milton expresses it,

> "————————— his omnipresence fills
> Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
> Fomented by his virtual power, and warmed,"

and that he is ever present to those that seek him in sincerity and truth, to deliver them out of all their troubles.

About the tenth year of his reign, B. C. 552, and in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, Crœsus was visited by several sages. Among the rest, Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator, presented himself at his court. He was received on his arrival with hospitality, and entertained in his palace. In a few days, the king directed his servants to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to show him their contents. When he had examined them all, Crœsus thus addressed him: "My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels, that you have been led by a philosophic spirit to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to inquire of you, what man, of all whom you have beheld, seemed to you most happy?"

This inquiry of Crœsus was prompted by vanity. He expected that Solon, having observed his wealth, and seeing so much grandeur around him, would have pronounced him to have been the happiest man. But Solon, though a heathen, knew the human heart better than this, and, scorning flattery, he replied: "I think that Tellus, the Athenian, best deserved the appellation of *happy*."

Crœsus was astonished, and asked on what the claims of Tellus to this distinction were founded?

"Because," the sage replied, "under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him: at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his country; he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

At this point, Crœsus interrupted the sage, and desired to

know, whom next to Tellus he esteemed most happy, expecting that the answer would now be favourable to himself.

Solon replied thus: "Cleobis and Bito. They were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is farther related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready* for the purpose, but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they died, and thus their lives in a manner may be accounted singularly happy. In this event, the deity made it appear that death is a greater blessing to mankind than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise; the men commended their prowess; the women envied their mother, who was delighted with the deed itself and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival were ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi, the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction."

Crœsus was mortified at this reply, and impatiently demanded whether he might not be reckoned among the number of the happy?

"Crœsus," the sage replied, "you inquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me who consider the divine beings, as viewing men with invidious and malignant aspects." (Pause for a moment, Christian reader, and contrast this response of the ancient sage with what is taught in the Bible: *there* we learn that "God is love.") Solon proceeded: "In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluctance, and support with anguish. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years; which period, if we except the intercalatory months, will amount to 25,200 days; or, if we add this month to each al-

* Servius, in his commentaries on the works of Virgil, says, that the want of oxen on this occasion was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.

ternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or 1,250 days. The whole seventy years will, therefore, consist of 26,450 days; yet of this number, every day will be productive of some new incident. Thus, Crœsus, our nature appears a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give you a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not more happy than the man of poverty, unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humble stations. The rich man who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humble, but more fortunate character with whom we may compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions, and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health, is a stranger to misfortune, is blessed with children, and is amiable in himself. If, at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O Crœsus, is the truly happy man, the object of your inquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death;* he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain; for no one region can supply them: it affords, perhaps, the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best: such, also, is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Crœsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look

* This idea seems to have been a favourite one with ancient heathen writers. Thus Sophocles, in his Œdipus Tyrannus, says:

"Let mortals hence be taught to look beyond
The present time, nor dare to say, a man
Is happy till the last decisive hour
Shall close his life without the taste of woe."

In the Andromache of Euripides, the idea is also met with:

"We never ought to call
Frail mortals happy, at their latest hour,
Till we behold them to the shades descend."

to the event of things; for the deity often overwhelms with misery those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

Crœsus was mortified at this speech, and afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference.

Many of the sentiments which the sage uttered are worthy to be treasured up in our memories; but fall very short, indeed, of the lessons taught in the Divine system of Christian philosophy. By this we are taught that,

> "He is the happy man, whose life e'en now
> Shows somewhat of that happier life to come;
> Who, doom'd to an obscure, but tranquil state,
> Is pleas'd with it, and, were he free to choose,
> Would make his fate his choice; whom peace, the fruit
> Of virtue, and whom virtue, fruit of faith,
> Prepare for happiness: bespeak him one,
> Content indeed to sojourn while he must
> Below the skies, but having THERE his home."—COWPER.

At this period, the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Crœsus, where he was much respected. He was grieved at the discharge of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend, "You see, Solon," said he, "that we must not come nigh kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," rejoined Solon; "you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful;" on which Bayle remarks: "I confess, that this caution of Æsop argues a man well acquainted with the court and great men; but Solon's answer is the true lesson of divines, who direct the consciences of princes."

After Solon's departure, Crœsus, about the eleventh year of his reign, was, according to Herodotus, visited by a judgment from God, in the untimely death of his second and favourite son Atys. This historian concludes, that he was visited with this judgment, because he thought himself of all men the most happy.

The after-life of Crœsus was, indeed disastrous, and ended in his own captivity. Having spent two years in mourning for the loss of his son, his grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who had succeeded to the rule of the Persian dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, therefore, before it became too great, was the object of his solicitude. Before he entered, however, upon his expedition, he determined to make trial of the most celebrated

oracles of antiquity; at Delphi, Phocis, Dodona, and those of Amphiarus, Prophonius, the Milesian Branchidæ, in Greece; and of Ammon in Libya; in order to form a judgment of the best, before he consulted them as to the fitness, or unfitness, of an expedition against the Persians.

The trial was as follows. He sent different messengers from Sardis, to these different oracles, to inquire what Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, was doing on the day they were actually consulted; which he appointed to be the hundredth day after their departure. On this day he cut into pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together himself, in a brazen pan with a brazen cover, an employment equally unaccountable and difficult to divine.

The responses of the other oracles are not recorded; but Apollo's, of Delphi, were very appropriate. The Pythian priestess replied in heroic verse:

> "I know the number of the Libyan sand,
> The ocean's measure; I can penetrate
> The secret of the silent, or the dumb,
> I smell the ascending odour of a lamb,
> And tortoise, in a brazen caldron boiled;
> Brass lies beneath, and brass above the flesh."
>
> LITTLEBURY.

A similar answer was given by the oracle of the hero Amphiaraus and Crœsus approving of them as the most sagacious, sent them abundance of the richest and most magnificent offerings, some of which are mentioned on page 180.

The various oracles mentioned by Herodotus in the course of his history, and their numerous responses, form the most curious and valuable portion of it, in a religious light. Many of them were doubtless ambiguous and delusive, originating in the frauds and impostures of the priests. Such was that which induced Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to invade Italy which was given thus: "Either you may conquer the Romans, or the Romans may conquer you." On the other hand, several of the responses were so determinate, explicit, and wonderfully fulfilled, that, if the facts be well ascertained, they cannot be ascribed solely to priestcraft. Such was the response concerning the dumb son of Crœsus: "that in an evil day, he first should speak." This exactly came to pass. In the experimental test of the boiled lamb and tortoise in a brazen vessel, the failure of other oracles to answer seems to affirm the account of the two that succeeded. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi, in the territory of Phocis, and of Amphiaraus in that

of Boetia, could not possibly have had any intercourse on the same day and hour. Lucian, indeed, ridicules the tricks played to make trial of Apollo's sagacity; but ridicule is no argument, and the oblations of Crœsus seems to leave no room for doubting either the fact or the secrecy of Crœsus; who, in so important a case, would not be likely to entrust his scheme of trial to any one, before the day the experiment was to be made. Pullen and Dr. Hales, therefore, consider that there was some supernatural agency in such cases.

Rollin ascribes the responses to demons; God, says he, permitting them sometimes to tell truth, in order to punish the blindness of their votaries. From their supposed knowledge of futurity, indeed the demons chiefly derived their name *Daimones*, from *Daio*.

Dr. Hales says, the Pythian Apollo seems to have been the old serpent himself, Acts xvi. 16; deceiving the whole heathen world by his lying oracles, especially before the coming of Christ. He was called Baalzebub at Ekron, in Palestine, where he delivered oracles, as may be seen from 2 Kings i. 1—4; and he was called in our Lord's time, "Beelzebub;" or, "the Prince of Demons," Matt. ix. 34. It is remarkable that our Lord did not undeceive the Jews, nor correct their error, if it were such: rather he assumed the fact, and refuted their malignity upon their own principles.

The established credit of oracles among the heathen, could only have been formed on experimental knowledge of their veracity in particular cases. This argument is urged by Cicero, in favour of the Pythian Oracle; and the Libyan oracle of Ammon derived its name from *Amoun*, "Truth."

The total cessation of oracles about the birth of Christ (a fact confessed by their greatest advocates, Cicero, Plutarch, etc.) forms the opinion that all the preceding responses could not have been the result of mere priestcraft, or human imposture. Why these lying oracles, however, which generally sheltered themselves under ambiguities and obscurities of expression, should sometimes tell remarkable truths, as in the case of the Scripture demoniacs, who confessed the Divinity of Christ, of the damsel at Philippi, of the responses to Crœsus, etc., may be ascribed to the control of Almighty God, on particular occasions of consequence, compelling them to utter truth. The prophecies of Balaam show that bad men were sometimes commissioned to deliver true prophecies, as we learn from his words to Balak: "Behold, I have received

commandment to bless: and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it," Numb. xxii. 20.

After Crœsus had presented his offerings to the oracles of Delphi, and the hero Amphiaraus, he consulted them again, whether he should invade the Persians? and whether he should procure an army of auxiliaries? Both agreed in the purport of their answer, that "if he invaded the Persians, he should destroy a great empire;" and they advised him to make friends of the most powerful of the Greeks. The reply of the Delphic oracle was as follows:

"By crossing the Halys, Crœsus will destroy a great empire."

This reply was at best but ambiguous, and Crœsus does not appear to have been satisfied with it; and therefore, after making the inhabitants of Delphi a present of two staters of gold each,* he consulted the oracle again, "whether his monarchy should last long." The Pythian gave this response:

"When o'er the Medes, a mule shall rule as king,
Learn thou the name of coward to despise;
Then on thy soft feet, Lydian thou must fly,
The pebbly Hermus, and no longer stay."—LITTLEBURY.

Although this oracle was as ambiguous as the former, Crœsus now prepared for war. He seems, indeed, to have been satisfied that this was a definite declaration in his favour. He was confident, says Herodotus, that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity.

In prosecuting the war, the first object of Crœsus was to enter into an alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisastratus at their head; and with the Lacedemonians; who were the two most powerful states of Greece.

Thus, deluded by these ambiguous and fallacious oracles, Crœsus prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of conquering Cyrus, and of becoming master of Persia.

While he was employed in preparing for this expedition a certain Lydian, says Herodotus, held in high repute among his countrymen for wisdom and prudence, thus addressed Crœsus: "You meditate, O prince, an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a

* The gold Attic stater was equal to twenty drahms, or fifteen shillings and five pence.

country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish: strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only;* even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? but, if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think, of what you, on your part, will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never be able to get rid of them. So far, therefore, from beginning a war with them, we ought to be thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia.

Crœsus heard this admonition, but regarded it not. He now assembled his forces, crossed the river Halys, which formed the boundary of the Lydian and Median dominion, invaded Cappadocia, in Syria, ravaged the country, and took Pteria, the capital city, not far from Sinope. Near this place he was met by Cyrus, and a sanguinary battle took place; but without any decided advantage on either side. Crœsus, however, finding that his army was inferior in number, and that Cyrus, nevertheless, did not seem disposed to renew the engagement the next day, retreated without molestation to Sardis, determined to apply for assistance to his confederates, Amasis, king of Egypt, the Lacedemonians, and Labynetus, or Nabonadius, king of Babylon, with whom he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. The date of this battle is fixed by Dr. Hales at B. C. 548.

About this time, the king of Babylon joined Crœsus, and brought with him a considerable treasure, for the purpose of hiring mercenaries. They raised a great army from Asia Minor, Ionia, Thrace, and Egypt, and assembled at the river Pactolus, waiting for the Lacedemonians.

Intelligence of these events reached Cyrus, and with his usual promptness and expedition, he marched forward to meet them. The hostile forces met at Thybarra, or on the plains of Thymbra, near Sardis, the capital of Lydia. Crœsus, availing himself of his immense superiority, extended his wings, consisting of cavalry and light troops, to outflank the Persians, while the Egyptians and the other heavy armed soldiers at-

* Larcher observes that Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us that the Persians drank only water; nevertheless, the former, in another place, says, that the Persians were addicted to wine. In this, however, there is no contradiction: when these Persians were poor, a little satisfied them; rendered rich by the conquests of Cyrus and his successors, luxury and all its comcomitant vices were introduced amongst them.

tacked them in front. But when the Lydian cavalry came to the charge, their horses took fright at the camels* on which the Persian archers were mounted, and fell into disorder. Cyrus seized the decisive moment to charge in turn, and after a faint resistance, the cavalry of Lydia were seen flying in disorder over the plain.

The charge of the Persian war-chariots completed the rout of the Lydian wings, and Cyrus, believing the victory won, hastened forward in pursuit of the fugitives; but this movement had nearly changed the fate of the day: the Persian war-chariots failed to make any impression on the close ranks and large shields of the Egyptians; they were driven back, indeed, with great slaughter, and the Egyptians, advancing in their turn, compelled the central division of the Persians to give way. Cyrus returned from the pursuit, just in time to save his centre from destruction. He at once attacked the Egyptians in the rear, but these brave men faced about, and maintained the unequal combat with great valour. They were at length induced, however, to surrender on honourable conditions, and they entered into the service of Cyrus, with the stipulation that they should not be compelled to turn their arms against Crœsus.

The Lydians, with their monarch, retreated to their capital city, Sardis. The next morning, Cyrus also marched thither, bringing with him his machines and scaling-ladders, in appearance as if he intended to assault the city in form. The strength of Sardis afforded Crœsus ground for hope, that if a siege could be protracted until winter, the Persians might be compelled to quit the field, and thus time might be gained for summoning his allies to his aid. But his hopes were fallacious. The next night, according to Xenophon, Cyrus sent a chosen band of Persians and Chaldeans, to climb the steepest and most rugged part of the ascent, under the conduct of a Persian guide, who knew a bye-path leading from the citadel to the river. As soon as they showed themselves in possession of the heights, the Lydians fled from the walls, and Cyrus entered the city, took Crœsus prisoner, and humanely protected the city from pillage, upon the surrender of their wealth and treasures.†

* The natural antipathy of the horse to the camel is affirmed by the ancients, but it is disproved by experience, and by the testimony of orientials. It may be observed, however, that the horses of Crœsus had never before seen that animal.

† Herodotus says, that the city was taken by the means of a Mardian,

Herodotus records, that during the storming of the city, a Persian meeting Crœsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow; but a son of Crœsus, who was dumb, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh man, do not kill Crœsus!" This was the first time, he adds, he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event as long as he lived.

This event also is, by Herodotus, made to fulfil the prediction of an oracle, which Crœsus had consulted—Whether his son should ever come to the use of his tongue, and which has been thus translated:—

"Oh, too imprudent Lydian, wish no more
The charming sound of a son's voice to hear;
Better for thee could things rest as they are;
For in an evil day he first shall speak."—LITTLEBURY.

The story, as handed down to us by the historian, has been happily turned to account by one of our poets, in the rebuke of infidelity. Hayley, in his Essay, thus reprobates the irreligious spirit in which Gibbon has penned his history.

"My verse
Breathes forth an honest sigh of deep concern,
And pities genius, when his wild career
Gives faith a wound, and innocence a fear.
Humility herself, divinely mild,
Sublime religion's meek and modest child,
Like the dumb son of Crœsus, in the strife,
Where force assailed his father's sacred life,
Breaks silence, and with filial duty warm,
Bids thee revere her parent's hallowed form."

According to Herodotus, the conqueror ordered Crœsus to be bound in fetters, with fourteen young Lydians, and to be burned alive, on a great pile of wood; from which death he was rescued, by thrice invoking the name of Solon in his distress, which occasioned Cyrus to relent; and by a miraculous shower of rain, which extinguished the flames, when all human efforts had proved vain. But all this must be looked

who had, on the preceding day, observed a Lydian descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. So much of the marvellous, however, surrounds his history in this section, that it is difficult to follow him. The account, moreover, which Xenophon gives, seems perfectly consistent with truth. These remarks are made, because historians generally have followed Herodotus in this matter, apparently without any effort to distinguish between fiction and facts.

upon as fabulous.* Cyrus was a merciful prince, and he does not appear to have acted contrary to his character on this occasion. How kindly disposed he was, indeed, toward the captive, with whom he was connected by affinity, appears from Herodotus himself. He relates, that before the battle, Cyrus issued orders to put to death all who should resist, "Crœsus himself excepted," who, whatever opposition he might make, was to be taken alive. Immediately after, he says, that Cyrus promised to grant all his wishes; that he treated him with the utmost kindness and familiarity: consulted him, and kept him constantly about his person; and that before his own death, he recommended Crœsus to the protection of Cambyses, who succeeded him in his empire.

Xenophon relates an interesting conversation between the conqueror and the captive, immediately after he was taken, which seems to exhibit the true nature of the treatment which Crœsus received at the hands of Cyrus. Alluding to the sage response of the oracle he had consulted, about two years after the death of his favourite son, Atys, which reads thus:

"Know thyself, Crœsus, and thou shalt happily pass through life,"

Crœsus exclaimed, "For my ignorance, then, of myself, and of you, am I now justly punished. Now, indeed, at length, I know myself! But do you think Apollo told truth? that I shall be happy in knowing myself. I ask you this question, because you seem to me best qualified to form a judgment on this subject in the present posture of affairs, for you are able to effect it."

Cyrus answered, "Give me rather your advice on this subject, Crœsus, for when I consider your former happiness, I really pity you; and I now restore to you your wife and your daughters, for I hear you have some, and your friends, and your attendants, and your table to be kept as usually; but I prohibit you from wars and battles."

* The historian may have related this from his knowledge of the ancient usages: for that such sacrifices were made, we gather from the poets; thus Achilles, in the Iliad, sacrifices twelve Trojan youths at the funeral pile of Patroclus:

"Then last of all, and horrible to tell
Sad sacrifice, twelve Trojan captives fell."

Again—

"And twelve sad victims of the Trojan line,
Sacred to vengeance, instant shall expire,
Their lives effus'd around thy funeral pyre."

"In truth," rejoined Crœsus, "you need not desire to give any further answer about promoting my happiness; for if you only do what you say, I tell you that I shall continue to enjoy in future what others counted the happiest life, and in which I concur with them."

"Who then," said Cyrus, "hold this the happiest life?"

"My wife," said he, "Cyrus; for she shared alike with me all my goods, luxuries, and delights, while she was freed from the cares of procuring them, and from war and battle. Thus, you are now disposed to treat me, as I treated her whom I loved best in the world. So that I consider myself as owing Apollo some further offerings, expressive of my gratitude."

When Cyrus heard this, he was surprised at his equanimity, and for the future took him along with himself wherever he went; either thinking that Crœsus might be of some use to him, or judging this the safer procedure.

Thus ended the career of Crœsus. It reads to us a lesson of the vanity of riches, and the mutability of the grandeur of this world. In one hour, his immense wealth passed into the hands of another, and his grandeur was rudely plucked from his brow. Seek not, therefore, reader, after these bubbles; for if they should fall into thy possession, they will burst, if not before, at the touch of death. Rather let thy thoughts be carried backward in reflection upon thy past life, and forward to a better and a more enduring world than this in which we live, and the fashion of which passeth away, and that swiftly.

"'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours;
And ask them what report they bore to heaven;
And how they might have borne more welcome news.
Their answers form what men experience call:
If Wisdom's friend, her best; if not, worst foe.
O reconcile them! kind experience cries,
'There's nothing here, but what as nothing weighs;
The more our joy, the more we know it vain;
And by success are tutor'd to despair.'
Nor is it only thus, but must be so;
Who knows not this, though grey, is still a child.
Loose, then, from earth the grasp of fond desire,
Weigh anchor, and some happier clime explore."—YOUNG.

HISTORY

OF

THE CARTHAGINIANS.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY AND THE FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

Carthage, called by the Greeks *Carchedon*, an ancient city and state, and long the rival of Rome, was a colony of the Tyrians, and was probably built about 100 years before Rome. Authors, however, differ very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage. There appears to have been an older Phenician settlement on the spot, which, according to Appian and others, was founded before the siege of Troy; and hence it is that the confusion has arisen concerning the age of Carthage.

Most ancient writers agree in following a tradition, that Carthage was founded by Elissa, or Dido, whose husband being murdered by his brother-in-law, Pygmalion, king of Tyre, fled with a numerous body of citizens. and landed on a peninsula on the coast of Africa, between Tunis and Utica, which were older Phenician colonies. Dido purchased, or agreed to pay rent for a piece of ground, whereon to build a town, which was called Betzura, or Bosra, that is, "the castle;" a name which the Greeks altered into Byrsa, a "hide." The name of Byrsa, and probably the shape of the peninsula, which resembles an ox hide, gave rise to the classical fable, of the manner in which the Libyans were cheated out of their ground, and which reads thus: Dido purchased of the natives for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox hide would encompass. This request was thought too moderate to

be denied. But it was only a trick; for she cut the hide into the smallest thongs; and with them encompassed a large *tract of land, on which she built a city* called Byrsa, from the hide. But this is ridiculous, as it would lead to the conclusion that the Phenicians and Carthaginians spoke Greek, or that the Punic language was of Greek origin.

As the town increased, the inhabitants excavated a port, which was called Cothon, and which became a great maritime and commercial emporium. This port was built, according to Dionysius and Valleius Paterculus, about sixty years before Rome, or 813 B. C. The Magara, or Magalia, which resembled a large suburb with fine gardens, probably owed its name to the first Phenician habitations, called in the language of the country Magar, or Magalia. The whole was called Carthage, a name which Bochart and others deduce from two oriental words, *Charta Hadatta*, "the new city;" Dr. Hyde, from *Chadre Hanacha*, the "chamber of rest," or "palace of repose;" and Servius, whose opinion seems the most correct, from Charta, a city in the vicinity of Tyre, to the monarchy of which Dido bore a near relation, and from whence she came. This very city is called by Cedrenus, Chartica, or Chartaca, that is, Charta Aca, or Charta Ace, the city of Acco, Aca, or Ace, a famous maritime city of Phenicia, near Tyre, in the portion of the tribe of Asher. It is now called St. Jean d'Acre, and is famous for the several sieges it has undergone, as in the time of Richard the Lion-hearted, who took it after a long and vigorous defence. It was again taken from the Christians by Bendocdar, the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, being the last town possessed in Palestine by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In more modern times, it sustained a siege by that fierce scourge of mankind, the French emperor, who was there defeated by the English.

The intercourse of the Carthaginians with their mother country Tyre, seems to have been closely and constantly maintained. They sent thither, every year, regularly, a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent, or acknowledgment, paid to their ancient abode; and they never failed to transmit thither also the first fruits of their revenues, and the tithes of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal deities of both Tyre and Carthage, and known among the Hebrews under the name of Baal. We read in Josephus, moreover, that the Carthaginians sent assistance to the Tyrians, when besieged by the king of Babylon,

about 600 years B. C.; and afterwards, when Tyre was besieged and captured by Alexander the Great, 332 B. C., they afforded a refuge to, and entertained hospitably, some of their fellow-countrymen. To this bond of union, indeed, there is an illusion in the prophecies of Ezekiel. That prophet, predicting the overthrow of Tyre, in order to show how great its ruin would be, says of the states around: "Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments: they shall clothe themselves with trembling; they shall sit upon the ground, and shall tremble at every moment, and be astonished at thee. And they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and say to thee, How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited of sea-faring men, the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants, which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it!" Ezek. xxvi. 16, 17. The princes of the sea, and the merchants here spoken of, refer to those of Sidon, Carthage, and other maritime cities, that traded, and were in alliance with Tyre.

Of the early history of Carthage, during more than three centuries, very little is known, except that it became a great commercial and maritime, and, to a considerable extent, an agricultural country.

In order to show how great it was, and to make the subsequent part of the history clear to the reader, we shall now notice

THE FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

The government of Carthage was considered by the ancients as founded upon principles of consummate wisdom. Aristotle, indeed, ranks this republic in the number of those that were held in the greatest esteem, and which were deserving to be copied by others. He grounds his opinion on this fact: that from the foundation of Carthage to his days, a period of five hundred years and upwards, no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant destroyed the liberty of the state. Mixed goverments, indeed, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or, in opposition to the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth,

Thebes, and even Rome itself under Sylla and Cesar. It is, therefore, no mean praise of Carthage, to state, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a period, two rocks, that are so dangerous, and on which other governments have foundered.

Like that of Sparta and Rome, the government of Carthage originally united three different authorities, which counterpoised and mutually assisted each other. These authorities were that of two supreme magistrates, called Suffetes; that of the senate; and that of the people. Afterwards, there were added the tribunal of the Hundred, which had great influence in the republic, and some civil officers, who were endowed with a power like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens, but of whom little beyond the comparison referred to is known.

Concerning the Suffetes, Selden and Bochart say, that they were the Hebrew shophetim, or sofetim, judges, or supreme magistrates. A late elegant writer has also observed: "It is remarkable that the Carthaginians, who were descended from the Tyrians, and spoke Hebrew, called their chief magistrate by the same name: but the Latins, who had no *sh*, as the Hebrews and Carthaginians had, and as we and the Germans have, wrote the word with a sharp *s*, and adding a Latin termination, denominated them Suffetes."

If this etymology be correct, and there appears no reason to doubt it, there is great probability that these Carthaginian suffetes resembled the old Israelitish judges, who ruled that people from the time of Joshua to the election of Saul, their first monarch. These judges were styled shophetim, and the Hebrews always denominated the book of Judges by that term; shophetim being the plural of shophet, a judge. Now, this very government flourished in the immediate vicinity of the Canaanites and Phenicians; it may, therefore, be very naturally inferred, that the Carthaginians borrowed their suffetes either from Tyre, or immediately from the Hebrews themselves. If from the Tyrians, these latter, probably received their knowledge of them from the Israelites. Such magistrates, it is certain, were found in Tyre after the destruction of the old city by Nebuchadnezzar. One person only was invested with the supreme power amongst the Hebrews during the days of the Judges, as was also the practice at Tyre; it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the same was the case at Carthage. Justin, indeed, called Hanno, who

was a suffete, the prince of Carthage; Cornelius Nepos designated him pretor; and Gellius styled him dictator. Festus has also observed, that the *sufes*, or according to its Carthaginian pronunciation, *sufet*, was the supreme magistrate of Carthage.

Of the mode of electing the suffetes, we are ignorant, but it would appear that their power was only annual, and that their authority answered to that of the consuls at Rome. They were empowered to assemble the senate, in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and collected the votes. They likewise presided in all debates on matters of importance. Their authority was not confined to the city; sometimes they had the command of the armies. When their employment as suffetes expired they were made pretors, which was a considerable office, as will be seen in the course of the narrative, under the section relating to Hannibal.

The senate appears to have been a numerous body, composed of the principal citizens, venerable on account of their age, and exalted by their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. The chief authority was vested in this body, and they were the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known, but it must have been considerable, since the tribunal of the Hundred, which the Greek writers call Gerusia, were selected from their body, to form a separate assembly. In the senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as the reader will perceive in the ensuing narrative.

Aristotle says, when the sentiments and votes were unanimous, the senate decided supremely, and no appeal could be made; but when there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then laid before the people, on whom the decision thereby devolved. This regulation was happily adapted to crush factions, produce harmony, and enforce and confirm good counsels; such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Polybius adduces a memorable instance of this. When, after the loss of the battle fought in Africa, at the close of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the senate, one of the senators opposed them with great warmth; but Hannibal, representing that, as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance

for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the public, the opposing senator yielded, and Hannibal carried his point. This, doubtless, laid the foundation of the power of the senate, and exalted its authority. Polybius observes, in another place, that whilst the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in its varied enterprises.

As late as the time of Aristotle, (from 384 to 322 B. C.) the government of Carthage was carried on solely by the senate. But the aspect of affairs changed afterwards. The people, having become insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that these blessings were the fruits of the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of sharing in the government, and they arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, cabal and faction ruled the state; to which cause, Polybius chiefly ascribes the ruin of Carthage.

Concerning the tribunal of the Hundred, Aristotle says: The Carthaginians had a body of 104 magistrates, similar to the Ephori of Sparta, but selected with greater discernment from among the most worthy; and that the kings and the Gerusia of Carthage resembled the kings and the Gerusia of Sparta in their respective offices. But there was this difference between the Ephori and the Gerusia, or the tribunal of the Hundred, namely, that the former consisted of five members only, who continued in office but a year, while the latter consisted of one hundred members, and upwards, and their office was perpetual. According to Justin, the Gerusia was a select body chosen from among the senators, to watch over and investigate the conduct of the magistrates, and especially of the generals returning home from foreign command, and it was first established at the time when the house of Mago, by its vast influence and popularity, excited fears of some ambitious designs, about 400 B. C. Its chief design was to act as a curb to the authority of the generals, which, whilst their armies were in the field, was almost boundless, by obliging them to give an account of their actions before these judges on their return from the campaign. From the tribunal of the Hundred, five were selected, who possessed a jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of Five resembled the council of Ten at Venice. When there was a vacancy in their number, it could be filled up by none but themselves, and

they also had the sole power of choosing those who composed the council of the Hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons endowed with rare merit. Neither salary nor reward was annexed to the office, the public welfare being considered sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty.

In his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, Polybius distinguishes two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men, that is, the council of the Hundred, and fifteen of the senate. Livy mentions only the fifteen senators, but in another place he mentions the old men; and he tells us also that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom, and the most just harmony of parts, have frequently degenerated into disorder and licentiousness. Thus it was with the tribunal of the Hundred. These judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power, were a terror to transgressors, abusing their authority, became, in the lapse of time, so many petty tyrants. This is verified in the history of Hannibal, who, during his pretorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to remove this abuse, and made the authority of these judges only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding of the tribunal.

The magistrates of Carthage were either elected by the people, or proposed by the senate and approved by the people; and Aristotle observes that bribery was resorted to, and that offices were bought and sold. Aristotle speaks of dinners given by various societies, probably like our clubs, in which political questions were discussed. Livy also speaks of their political circuli, clubs, or *cercles*, as they are now called in the French language. Concerning the choice of magistrates, Aristotle observes, that the qualities required were their wealth, personal character, merits, and popularity; which shows that the people had a real power in the elections.

This is all that is known concerning the constitution of the government of Carthage, no Carthaginian author having reached us. Had Aristotle's work on Constitutions not been lost, we should probably have had a much fuller account of the Carthaginian government and social state: we meet with observations in that author's writings, however, concerning

two defects in the government, and we have some information concerning the policy of the government, which may throw some additional light on the subject.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employment. This was considered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit; but Aristotle speaks of it as highly prejudicial to the public welfare. His argument runs thus: he says, A man possessed but of one employment is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner despatched. Thus, he observes, we never see, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite emulation and reward merit; whereas the bestowing them on one man too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference, and always fills others with jealousy and discontent.

The second fault noticed by this author, in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain income was required, besides merit and noble birth; by which means, poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit. Then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money all-powerful, the admiration and desire of bribes seize and corrupt the whole community; and when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employment, they conclude they have a right to reimburse themselves. This latter charge must be understood of the presents that were given in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was deemed a disgrace.

Although the Carthaginians were a people essentially commercial, they were very attentive to agriculture. The country in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and indeed all that tract of land which formed its real territory, which is described in the ensuing narrative, was beautifully cultivated and extremely fertile. When Agathocles landed in Africa, and when Regulus, half a century later, and Scipio Africanus, and Scipio Emilianus at a still later period, invaded the Carthaginian territory, their march lay through rich fields covered with herds of cattle, and irrigated by numerous streams. Vineyards and olive grounds, also, appeared on every side, and villages and towns were spread over the face of the country; and as they drew near to the "Great Car-

thage," the neighbourhood was thickly studded with the country seats of the wealthy citizens.

Concerning the foreign policy of the Carthaginians, it has been observed, that it was "grasping, jealous, and often inhuman." This policy must, however, be dated from the period when Carthage became a conquering nation, which, as we shall see, was in the fourth century of its existence. Before that time, like their Phenician progenitors, they contented themselves with trading both inland and by sea, and establishing factories on the western coasts of the Mediterranean for carrying on a trade of exchange with the natives. At a very early date, they took possession of the smaller islands, near their own coasts, such as Melita or Malta, Gozo, Lampedosa, and afterwards of the Balearic and the Lipari islands.

Their policy, and their old enmity towards the Greeks, which originated in commercial rivalry, led them to enter into correspondence with the kings of Persia, especially at the time when Darius and Xerxes invaded Greece. They likewise joined the Etruscans at an early period against the Phocæans, who had settled in Corsica; and afterwards the Ligurians against the colony of Massilia, or Marseilles.

In concluding this chapter, we would only observe, that some people have drawn a parallel between Carthage and England. But this is mere fancy, and is, moreover, a very superficial view of both states. Carthage never had a compact territory, with an homogeneous population, like Great Britain. Its armies were, indeed, almost entirely composed of mercenaries; and there are, also, numerous other discrepancies between the policy and the respective institutions of the two countries, which the attentive reader of the succeeding pages cannot fail to notice. The Christian reader, more especially, will observe, that he is reading of a nation whose institutions were founded on pagan principles, while in his own country they are professedly established on the foundation of Christianity; and while he observes this, he will bless the Giver of all good for his superior advantages, and exclaim with the psalmist, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage!" Psa. xvi. 6.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE FROM THE PERIOD OF ITS EARLY CONQUESTS TO THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

It is stated in the preceding chapter, that little is known of the early history of Carthage during more than three centuries, except that it became a great commercial, maritime, and agricultural country. After this period, however, about B. C. 510, it is brought under our notice as an eminent political state, ever grasping at dominion. The ambitious Carthaginians, ignorant of their moral duties, and unblessed with that lovely spirit of Christianity, which embraces all mankind in its affections, and teaches us to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, carried war into, and extended their conquests in Europe; they invaded Sardinia, made themselves masters of a great part of Sicily, and reduced to subjection almost the whole of Spain. They likewise sent out powerful colonies into many quarters of the world, and they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than 600 years; they, finally, formed a state able, by her wealth, armies, and fleets, to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires in the world.

The first wars waged by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans for the territory which had been ceded to them. This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon this condition. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and the war was terminated by the payment of the tribute.

After this, the Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and, being emboldened by the conquests they obtained over those nations, they would no longer pay the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness, and possessed themselves of a great part of the north of Africa.

About this time, there arose a dispute between Carthage

and Cyrene, a powerful city situated on the Mediterranean, and which was built by Battus, about 630 years B. C., on the subject of their respective limits. To settle this dispute, it is said by some writers, that it was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same instant from either city, and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians, (these were two brothers named Phileni,) made the most haste; and their antagonists, pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers had set out before the time appointed, refused to adhere to the agreement, unless the two brothers, to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing, would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced in the proposal; and the Carthaginians erected on that spot two altars to their memories, and from that time the place was called the Altars of the Phileni, and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules, or the Straits of Gibraltar.

This story, however, bears upon the face of it all the marks of improbability. The contending parties are said to have set out from their respective capitals, Carthage and Cyrene, and met at the place where the altars afterward stood. Now Rennel, in his Memoir of the Geography of Herodotus, says, that these were situated about seven-ninths of the road from Carthage to Cyrene. It is more reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that they mutually set out at the opposite extremes of the disputed territory, and not from their respective capitals.

Concerning the extent of the empire of the Carthaginians, we are told by Strabo, that they possessed 300 cities in Africa before the commencement of the third Punic war; and that at the time of Hannibal's expedition into Italy, their African dominions extended from the columns of Hercules to the Philenian altars on the boundaries of Cyrenaica, a space of 2,000 English miles. According to Dr. Shaw, who was a most accurate geographer, it appears to have been 1420 geographical, or 1636 British miles, thus:—

	Geograph. Miles.
From Tingi or Tangier to the river Mulva or Mulooiah . .	200
Ditto, to the Eastern band of the river Chinalaph or Shelliff .	220
Ditto to the river of Ampsaga, or city of Cirta . . : .	165
Ditto to Laribus by Theveste or Tiflesh	130
Ditto to Carthage	70
Carried over . .	785

	Geograph. Miles.
Brought over . . .	785
From Carthage to Kairwan, olum vicus Augusti	75
Ditto to Tacape, or river of Kabos in the Lesser Syrtis . .	110
Ditto to Tripolis, the modern Tripoli	135
Ditto to Leptis Magna, or Libda in the Greater Syrtis . . .	115
Ditto to the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, where the Philenian altars are supposed to have stood	200
Total :	1420

This was the whole extent of African territory subject to Carthaginian sway. The real territory of Carthage appears to have extended southwards as far as the lake Tritonis, and westward somewhat beyond the frontiers of the present state of Tunis. There were, however, in this tract of territory, several old Phenician colonies along the coast, which appear to have stood in the relation of allies to Carthage, each retaining their own government. We instance Utica, Leptis, Hippo, and Hadrumetum.

The first foreign conquest attempted by the Carthaginians seems to have been that of Sardinia; but history does not inform us exactly either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner in which they obtained possession of it. The conquest was first attempted by one Malchus, perhaps Melech, who failed; and it was renewed by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. Hasdrubal, of whom it is said that he had been eleven times general, fell in battle in Sardinia, but his brother Hamilcar succeeded in reducing part of the island, where the Carthaginians built the colonies of Caralis, now called Cagliari, and Salci. The conquest made in this island, which is separated from Corsica only by a strait of about three leagues in breadth, was of great use to the Carthaginians during their wars, inasmuch as it supplied them with provisions.*

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Balearic isles, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Mahon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of, and fortified it. This harbour is, at the present day, one of the most convenient in the Mediterranean, or, it has been said, in the world, as a large fleet of line of battle ships may ride within it, in seven or eight fathoms water, in perfect security from the wind. The Spaniards say,

* It was about this time, 490 B. C., that Darius, according to Justin, sent an embassy to Carthage, requesting assistance against the Greeks, which the Carthaginians refused to furnish.

in allusion to its delightful situation, that, the ports of the Mediterranean are June, July, August, and Port Mahon, thereby signifying that it is more beautiful than any other. This port has, indeed, made the possession of Minorca an object of contention among the maritime nations of Europe during the past century.

From these isles the Carthaginians enlisted the most expert slingers in the world. They slang large stones of above a pound weight, and sometimes threw leaden bullets with such force, that they would pierce the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and they were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarcely ever missed the mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from their infancy to handle the sling, for which purpose their mothers placed on the bough of a high tree the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, and they were not allowed to eat till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice, these islands were called Balleares and Gymnasie by the Greeks, because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging stones. Bochart derives the name of these islands from two Phenician words, Baal-jare, or master of the art of slinging, which strengthens the authority of Strabo, who says that the inhabitants learned their art from the Phenicians, who were once their masters. This is rendered very probable, when we consider, that both the Hebrews and Phenicians excelled in this art.

The next conquests of the Carthaginians were in Spain; but before we enter on the relation of these conquests, it is proper to give our readers some idea of Spain in ancient times.

Spain was divided into three parts, Boetica, Lusitania, Tarraconensis.

Boetica, so called from the river Boetis, the modern Guadilquiver, was the southern division of Spain, and comprehended the present kingdom of Grenada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients Gadez and Gadira, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. It is well known, that Hercules, having extended his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he had reached the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. Boetica was the most fruitful, wealthy, and populous part of Spain. It contained 200 cities, and was inhabited by the Turdetani, or Turdali.

On the banks of the Boetis stood three large cities; Castulo towards the source; Corduba lower down; and Hispalis, now called Seville.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durius, or Douro, and on the south by the river Anas, or Guadiana. Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconensis comprehended the rest of Spain; that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Tarraco, now Tarragona, a very considerable city, gave its name to this part of Spain. Very near it lay Barcino, or Barcelona. Its name gives rise to the conjecture, that it was built by Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconensis were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus, or Ebro; the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Oretani, etc.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians. They doubtless knew that their Phenician ancestors, as Diodorus relates, taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immense riches hid in the bowels of their lands, first took from them these treasures in exchange for commodities of little value. They foresaw, also, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well-disciplined troops for the conquest of other nations, as actually occurred in after ages. So wise are the men of this world in their generation, so covetous of wealth and glory. Notwithstanding that they are daily taught the truth of the words of the psalmist, who says, "Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased; for when he dieth he shall carry nothing away: his glory shall not descend after him," Psa. xlix. 16, 17; they seek wealth as the "one thing needful," then die, "like the beasts that perish," "having no hope, and without God in the world."

The occasion of the Carthaginians' first landing in Spain was ostensibly to assist the inhabitants of Cadiz, who were invaded by the Spaniards, and who had originally emigrated from Tyre, as well as the people of Utica and Carthage. The

success, however, which the Carthaginians met with in this first expedition made them desirous of carrying their conquests into Spain.

It is not exactly known at what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as they had to cope with warlike nations, who defended their liberties and homes with great resolution and courage. Strabo observes, that if the Spaniards had formed but one state, and had assisted one another, they could never have accomplished their design. But as every district and people were detached from their neighbours, they were subdued one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on the one hand, the loss of Spain; but, on the other it protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country tenfold more difficult. Hence it was, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued. It was not, indeed, entirely subjected to their power, till it had made a vigorous opposition for upwards of 200 years.

It appears from accounts given by Polybius and Livy of the wars of Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will be mentioned hereafter, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then (B. C. 220) unconquered. In twenty years' time, however, they completed the conquest of almost the whole country; and at the time that Hannibal commenced his expedition to Italy, the lust of empire, which knows no bounds, had carried them over all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills.

The next foreign conquests of the Carthaginians were in Sicily, concerning the proceedings of which more is known than as to those of Sardinia or Spain. We shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, (who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily,) till the first Punic war. This period includes nearly 220 years, namely, from about 484 to 264, B. C. At the commencement of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, three brothers who succeeded one another, with the sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy, or popular government, was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysiuses, Timoleon, and Agathocles, bore the sway

in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars which we are about to narrate, and which will throw great light on the subject of the power of the Carthaginians, at the time they engaged in hostilities with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side which faces the Ionian, or Grecian Sea, extends from Cape Pachynum, or Pessaro, to Pelorum or Il Faro. The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Taurominium, and Messana, now called Saragoza, Taomina, and Messina. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from Cape Pelorum to Cape Lilybeum. The most noted cities on this coast are Mylae, Himera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, and Lilybeum, the Modern Marsala. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from Cape Lilybeum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum, now called Girgenti, Gela, and Camarina. The island is separated from Italy by a strait which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the Faro or strait of Messina, from its contiguity to that city. Strabo says, that the passage from Lilybeum to Africa is 1500 furlongs, that is about seventy-five leagues; but Rennel has shown that it is not above one third of that distance.

The period at which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not definitely known, but it is supposed to have been about 503 years B. C. All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans, 508 years B. C.; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their places, namely, twenty-eight years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. This treaty, which is the first mentioned as made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions with regard to Sicily relate only to those ports of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, which was near Carthage; and that such merchants as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties, which are settled in it.

It appears by this treaty, that the Carthaginians were care-

ful to exclude the Romans from all countries subject to them as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though they had, even at that time, taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans, and already harboured in their breasts the sinful emotions of that jealousy and distrust which were one day to burst forth in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could eradicate but the ruin of one of the contending powers.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, (about 481 B. C.,) the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, the king of Persia. This prince, who aimed at the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he conceived to be his enemies, thought it would be impossible to succeed in his enterprise, without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who ever kept in view their design of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily embraced the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for its complete reduction. A treaty was therefore concluded, wherein it was agreed, that the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years, after which time, about 478 years B. C., Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed with a formidable army towards the scene of action. He landed at Palermo, and, after refreshing his troops marched against Himera, which lay near Palermo, and laid siege to it. Therou, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. Gelon flew to his relief with a considerable force, and his arrival infused new courage into the besieged, and from that time they made a vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been despatched from Selinus, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked the Carthaginians with all his forces. They at first made a gallant resistance, but, when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet on fire, their courage failed, and they fled. A dreadful slaughter ensued; great numbers were slain, and those who escaped having re-

tired to a place where they were in want of every thing, were forced to surrender at discretion.

The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. When therefore, the news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into a confused alarm. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates, and they immediately sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency. He therefore granted them a peace upon these conditions—That they should pay 2000 talents towards the expenses of the war; that they should build two temples, where the treaty of the peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view; and that they should abolish the cruel practice of sacrificing human victims to Melcarth.* The Carthaginians did not think this peace purchased at too high a rate since it was absolutely necessary to their affairs, and unexpectedly granted. Overjoyed, indeed, at the event, they made a present to Demarata, Gelon's wife, who had favoured its conclusion, of a crown of gold of the value of 100 talents. Gisgo, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom among the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of the war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days in Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly unarmed and without his guard, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country, he was hailed as its benefactor and deliverer; all with a unanimous voice proclaimed him king, and the crown was bestowed after his death on his two brothers.

* Montesquieu says of this treaty: "The noblest treaty of peace ever mentioned in history is, in my opinion, that which Gelon, king of Syracuse, made with the Carthaginians. He insisted upon their abolishing the custom of sacrificing their children. After having defeated 300,000 Carthaginians, (according to Diodorus, whose statement is probably an exaggeration,) he required a condition that was advantageous only to themselves, or rather, he stipulated in favour of human nature."

After this there was a period of peace of about seventy years' duration, during which time Carthage seems to have reached the highest point of its commercial prosperity. The Carthaginians now sent out, indeed according to Pliny, two fleets to explore the western coasts of Africa and Europe. The first expedition was commanded by Hanno, a suffete, who took out with him 30,000 colonists of the rural population whom he distributed in settlements on the western coast of Africa. It is stated in the Periplus, or voyage of Hanno, that the first city he founded was Thumiaterion, near the pillars of Hercules, probably in the neighbourhood of Marmora. The others were founded a little to the south of the promontory Soloeis, which Rennel considers to be the same as Cape Cantin, and they were named Karikon-teichos, Gutte, Akra, Melitta, Arambus, and Kerne. The other expedition under Hamilcar was sent round the coast of Lusitania, and northwards as far as the Œstrymnon Cape, which some suppose to be Cape Finisterre. It would seem that they discovered not only the Fortunate or Canary isles, but Madeira also. A large island, with rivers and forests is mentioned, the position of which they kept concealed as a state secret, intending it as a place of refuge, in case of some great national castastrophe. This island some suppose to have been a portion of America.

At the end of seventy years, about 410 B. C., a second expedition was sent into Sicily. It had its origin in the following circumstance. After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the people of Egeste, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing their resentment, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinus, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage, the people debated some time what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair being attended with great difficulties. On the one hand the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which would further their ambitious views; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and had become by this victory more formidable than ever. At length, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised aid.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar,

who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera, and son to Gisgo, who had been condemned to exile. Hannibal left Carthage animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the Well of Lilybeum, which gave its name to a city afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinus.—The attack and defence were equally vigorous, but the city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most wanton cruelties, without showing the least regard to either age or sex. He, however, permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage.

Himera, which was a city in the interior of Sicily, was next besieged and taken, and after being more cruelly treated than Selinus, was entirely razed, 244 years after its foundation, and 409 B. C. Hannibal caused 3000 prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishment, and at last murdered them all on the very spot where his grandfather had been slain by Gelon's cavalry; to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims.

This circumstance conveys an idea that the people of Carthage held the notion that the manes, or souls of the departed asked revenge upon its earthly foes, and this would naturally lead to such a crime as that perpetrated by Hannibal. When we read such lamentable facts in history as these, how ought we to express our gratitude to God, the source of all good, for the right notions imparted to us in the Bible, concerning the soul of man, and for that knowledge which keeps us from imbruing our hands in the blood of our fellow-man, which makes us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and which shows us how just will be their condemnation, who, knowing these things, act as did the ancient heathen, and even with more brutality.

Those inhabitants who survived this calamity established themselves at Thermae, near the site of the most ancient town, and enriched their new abode with such works of art as they could collect from the wreck.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

They were so rejoiced, indeed, at these successes, that they now determined to carry into effect a design which they had ever entertained, of making themselves masters of the whole of Sicily. Accordingly, three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of the war, they gave him for a lieutenant, Imilco, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The number of their forces, according to Timaeus, amounted to above six score thousand; and, according to Ephorus, to 300,000 men, which shows the uncertainty of these enumerations in ancient history. The enemy, on their side, were prepared to give them a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was (as its sepulchral remains testify at the present day) very rich; and it was also strongly fortified. It was situated, as was Selinus, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable, except on one side, he directed his whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made use on this occasion of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians, as superstitious as they were cruel, interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, for the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts, it is said, many fancied they had seen in the night. No more tombs were therefore demolished; prayers were ordered to be made, according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch: and many victims were thrown into the sea, in honour of Neptune, the fabulous god of the ocean. The horrid worship of both these idol gods formed a part of the Carthaginian mythology.

The besieged, who at first gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine that, all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. Accordingly, the bulk of the citizens passed the enemy's lines in a winter's

night, and escaped to Gela, where they received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced. This event took place 406 years B. C.

In the meantime, Imilco or Hamilcar entered the city, and murdered all therein. The plunder was exceedingly great, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily. A multitude of paintings, vases, and statues of every kind was found; the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of Phalaris,* which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum lasted eight months. Imilco made his forces take up their winter quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment: he left the city, after laying it entirely in ruins, in the beginning of the spring. Afterwards, he besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius, the tyrant who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilco ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius; the conditions of which were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicanians, Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera, as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage; that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence; lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was completed, Imilco returned to Carthage.

Dionysius, in concluding the late peace with the Carthaginians, had no other view than to gain time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war he meditated against them. Sensible of their formidable power, he used his utmost endeavours to prepare to invade their possessions with success, and his design was seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of Dionysius, the de-

* This bull was made by Perillus, an ingenious artist of Athens, for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum. It was so fabricated as to put criminals to death by burning them alive, and to make their cries sound in their agonies like the roaring of a bull. When Perillus gave it to Phalaris, the tyrant made the first experiment upon the donor; he caused him to be put to death by lighting a slow fire under the belly of the bull. After this, many of the subjects of Phalaris perished by the same means: but the tyrant's cruelties did not remain long unrevenged; for in the tenth year of his reign, his people revolted, and put him to death in the same manner.

sire he had to distinguish himself, the hope of gain, and the prospect of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest talent, invited, from all quarters into Sicily, the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. Syracuse became a great workshop; in every part men were seen making instruments of destruction, and preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been collected from different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his design before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies of Greece; that they had in view the invasion of all Sicily; the subjection of all the Grecian cities; and that, in case their project was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked: that the reasons why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise, was owing entirely to the plague among them, which, he observed, was a favourable opportunity, of which the Syracusans ought to take advantage.

Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to the Carthaginians prevailed over all other considerations; and every one, guided more by the view of an interested policy, than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians, great numbers of whom resided at that time at Syracuse, and traded on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorized to exercise every ignominy and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. This example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily, and this became the signal of the war declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice, (for such it was termed,) sent deputies to Carthage, demanding for all the Sicilian cities their liberties; declaring that otherwise, all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the condition to which they were reduced. They saw themselves in danger of being taken in the net which they had spread for others, and were in fear for the consequences. This event may be dated 397 B. C.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and he pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilco, the Carthaginian leader, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers to the wall, six stories high, upon wheels, and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged with his catapultæ, engines then recently invented, which hurled with great violence volleys of arrows and stones against the enemy. By these means, the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken, and all the inhabitants put to the sword; those excepted who took refuge in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year, Imilco, being appointed one of the suffetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo, recovered Moyta by force, and took several other cities. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, designing to besiege it, marching his infantry by land, whilst his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilco threw the Syracusans into great consternation. About 200 ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered the great harbour in triumph, being followed by 500 barks. At the same time, the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of 300,000 foot, and to others, which is the more probable account, to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilco pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half, from the city. Marching up to it, Imilco offered battle to the inhabitants, who declined accepting the challenge, and he retired, not doubting but he should soon be master of the city. For thirty days together he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Achradina, and plundered the temple of Ceres, the goddess of corn, and Proserpine her daughter, whom the ancient heathens supposed to preside over the death of mankind. To fortify his camp, Imilco demolished the very tombs where the dead reposed, including that of Gelon and his wife Demarata.

But these successes were transitory. All the splendour of

this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the ancient historian, that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. The Almighty, by a fearful dispensation said, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. Whilst Imilco, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to crown his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and laid his glory in the dust. It was now the middle of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died without any possibility of their lives being preserved. At first, care was taken to inter the departed; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading rapidly, the dead lay unburied, and the sick unassisted. The plague was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails, acute pains in every part of the body: the infected were even seized with madness, so that they would fall upon any that came in their way, and tear them to pieces: into such dreadful maladies has sin plunged the human race. Great reason has man, in all ages of the world, to deplore the fall of Adam. We, as Christians, however, may look forward to a day, when the groans of creation shall cease—when the Lord Jesus Christ shall restore all things to their pristine state of holiness and happiness—when there shall be "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," 2 Pet. iii. 13, and a perfect immunity from sorrow.

Dionysius did not suffer so favourable an opportunity for attacking the enemy to escape; and being more than half conquered by the plague, they made but a feeble resistance; their ships were almost all taken or burned. The inhabitants of Syracuse, in general, old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, in their ignorance of the one true God, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having avenged the sanctity of their temples and tombs, which had been so wantonly violated. Night coming on, both parties retired, when Imilco, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, requesting leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of 300 talents, about 61,800*l.*, which was all the specie he had then left. This permission could only be obtained for the Carthagi-

nians, with whom Imilco stole away in the night, leaving the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

Such was the condition in which Imilco, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retired from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, and still more that of his country, he accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. "The enemy," continued he, "may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are defeated by the plague alone." His greatest cause of grief, and that which most distressed him, was his having survived so many of his soldiers who had died in arms. "But," added he, "the sequel shall make it appear whether it is through fear of death, or from the desire of leading back to their native country the miserable remains of my fellow citizens, that I have survived the loss of so many brave comrades." Accordingly, on his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children, and then, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, he put an end to his life.

But the calamities of Carthage did not stop here. The Africans, who had ever borne an implacable hatred to its inhabitants, were now exasperated to fury because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the wrath of the Syracusans. They therefore sounded the alarm, took up arms, and after seizing upon Tunis, marched onward to Carthage, to the number of more than 200,000 men. This new incident was considered by them as the effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty even to Carthage, and they gave themselves up for lost. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the supposed offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities who till that time had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been offered to them in plundering their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual (if the term may be used) were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which, as they fondly supposed, would appease the angry goddesses. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for them, however, this numerous army had no

leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul. They had no provisions, nor military engines; no discipline nor subordination was seen among them, every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming superiority over the rest. Divisions therefore arose; and the famine increasing daily, they gradually withdrew to their homes, and thus Carthage was delivered from alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their attacks on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the suffetes, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this interval to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately slain, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle, in which Leptines, brother to Dionysius, and one of his generals, was killed, and upwards of 14,000 Syracusans left dead on the field. By this victory, the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the possession of all they originally had in Sicily, with the addition of strongholds; they gained, also, a thousand talents, about 206,000*l.*, which were paid to them towards defraying the expenses of the war.

Carthage had, soon after, another calamity to struggle with. The plague spreading, panic, terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized the unhappy sufferers; who, sallying out sword in hand, killed or wounded all who came in their way; as though an overruling Providence had ordained that they should perish by that sword which they had so often unjustly turned against their fellow-men. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but they had not sufficient power to accomplish their desires. Dionysius, with the same views, formed at this time an enterprise in Sicily, which was equally unsuccessful. He died some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was an-

other, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402nd year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently B. C. 341, and about the time of which we are now speaking. This second treaty was similar to the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles. Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, 347 years B. C., and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a large fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers; and were, besides, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies of tyranny, and the most avowed and generous asserters of liberty. This state accordingly sent Timoleon, a man of great merit, who had signalized his zeal for the public welfare by delivering his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail, 344 years B. C., with only ten ships, and arriving at Rhegium, eluded by a stratagem the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed by Icetes of his voyage, sought to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarcely above 1000 soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in despair: they saw the Carthaginians masters of the port, Icetes of the city, and Dionysius of the capital. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius, having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all his forces, arms, and ammunition, and escaped, by his assistance, to Corinth, 343 years B. C. Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign soldiers, who formed the principal strength of Mago's army, and the greatest part of whom were Greeks, that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a little time, would pass over into Greece. Could they imagine, he asked, that the Carthaginians were come so far, with no other view than to establish Icetes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave him great uneasiness; and, as

he wanted a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed that his forces were going to betray him. Accordingly, upon this he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Icetes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now obtained possession of the city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him by a voluntary death. After this, new forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet was sent to Sicily. It consisted of 200 ships of war, besides 1000 transports; and the army amounted to upwards of 70,000 men. They landed at Lilybeum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, who resolved to attack the Corinthians first. But Timoleon did not wait for the attack; he marched forward to meet them. Such, however, was the consternation of Syracuse, that of all the forces which were in that city, only 3000 Syracusans and 4000 mercenaries followed him; and even of these latter, 1000 deserted upon the march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. But Timoleon was not discouraged; exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous was on the banks of the little river Crimisus. It appeared, at the first reflection, madness to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only 4000 or 5000 foot, and 1000 horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery conducted by prudence is superior to numbers, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who, knowing the justice of their cause, were resolved to die rather than yield, and demanded with ardour to be led against the enemy. A battle was therefore fought, and the Carthaginians were routed with great slaughter. Their camp, also, was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners. Timoleon, at the same time that he despatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. He was desirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, but with those of barbarians, which, by inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and gratitude of those who had won them. The inscriptions imported, "That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks settled in

Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgement of the favour and goodness of the gods."*

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginians' territories to destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the soldiers who had deserted him, taking no other revenge than commanding them to leave Syracuse before sunset. This victory gained by the Corinthians took place 340 years B. C., and was followed by the capture of a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians again to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians exert themselves to raise armies by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of victory; so their courage would fail them, in adversity, their hopes of resources vanish, and they would humbly ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and without sense of shame accept the most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were—That their territories in Sicily should be limited to the west extremity of the island, the river Halycus, between Selinus and Lilybeum, forming its eastern boundary; that they should give all the natives liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects; and that they should neither continue in alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, a memorable event, as related by Justin, occurred at Carthage. Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the whole senate. He chose for the execution of this atrocious deed, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The con-

* This was in strict accordance with the practice of the ancients. It was their custom to dedicate to the gods some conspicuous portion of the enemies' spoils; a relic of which is preserved in the European custom of depositing in churches standards captured in war. The armour was, indeed, frequently a votive offering to the idol in whose temple it was placed; that is, when a vow had been made to a particular god, that in the event of a victory the armour of one or more distinguished foes should decorate his temple. Virgil alludes to such decorations of temples in his description of that in which Latinus received the ambassadors of Æneas:—

"Around the posts hung helmets, darts, and spears,
And captive chariots, axes, shields, and bars,
And broken beaks of ships, the trophies of their wars."

Æneid.—DRYDEN.

spiracy was discovered, but Hanno had such influence, that the government dared not punish him for his crime. The only step they could take was, to curtail the magnificence and the expenses of weddings by an order from the senate. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force; and for that purpose he armed all his slaves: he was, however, again discovered; and, to escape punishment, he retired with a number of armed slaves to a strongly fortified castle, and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the King of Mauritania. He was at length taken and carried to Carthage, where he, and his children and relations, though innocent of his crimes, were put to death, without regard, on the part of the Carthaginians, to justice, moderation, or gratitude.

War again broke out between Carthage and Syracuse, about 310 years B. C., when Agathocles was tyrant of the latter city. This Agathocles was a Sicilian of obscure birth and mean fortune; some say that he was the son of a potter. Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and established himself there as a tyrant. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds; and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a treaty which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves, who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him, (B. C. 309,) near the city and river of Himera, and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, and who, moreover, saw himself forsaken by his allies, from their detestation of his cruelties meditated a design, at once of so daring, and, to all appearance, of so impracticable a nature, that it appears almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is scarcely less wonderful than the design itself. He communicated his thoughts to no one, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from danger; that they had only to endure patiently, for a short time, the inconveniences of a siege; and that those who could not confide in this assurance, might

freely depart the city. Only 1600 persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a vigorous and long defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents (about 11,250*l.*) to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary for his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagathus and Heraclides, without informing any one whither he intended to direct his course. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure endeavoured to prevent it: but he eluded their pursuit, and made for the ocean.

Agathocles did not unfold his design till he had landed in Africa. There, assembling his troops, he told them the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country, was to wage war in the territories of their enemies; that he had led them, who were inured to war, and of intrepid dispositions, against enemies who were enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, oppressed with a yoke of servitude, equally cruel and ignominious, would join them on hearing of their arrival; that the boldness of their attempt would of itself discourage the Carthaginians: in short, that no enterprise could be more advantageous or honourable than this, since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by all posterity. Pleased with his speech, the soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and they received it with the warmest acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun, which occurred as they were setting sail. In these ages, even the most civilized nations understood very little of the extraordinary phenomena of nature, and used to draw from them, by their soothsayers, arbitrary and superstitious conjectures, which frequently would suspend or hasten the most important enterprises. Agathocles, however, revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his army in the disposition he wished, Agathocles executed a second enterprise, more daring than the carrying them into Africa: this was, the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to commit this action. He

had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ships could remain in safety; and, as the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would have possessed themselves of his fleet, which was incapable of making any resistance. He was desirous, also, of placing his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared his officers, who were devoted to his service, and received every impression that he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly, with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and with the air of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, he thus addressed them:—"When we left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in this fatal necessity I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily, and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. But the soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the action; they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, and when they recovered their reason, and surveyed in their minds the vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, and saw themselves in that of the enemy, without resources or means of escape, a melancholy silence succeeded the transports of joy and acclamations.

Agathocles, however, left them no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they proceeded afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were meadows watered by beautiful streams, and covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle; country seats built with extraordinary magnificence: avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit trees; and gardens of vast extent, kept with an elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched, full of courage, to the Great City, which they took sword in hand, and enriched themselves with

the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis made as little resistance; and this city was not far from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were in great alarm when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches; for they concluded that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square, whilst the senate assembled in haste, and deliberated on the best means of preserving the city. They had no army in readiness, and their danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country, and among the allies. It was, therefore, resolved to arm the citizens; and the number of the forces thus levied amounted to 40,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 2000 armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by family quarrels, were, however, joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on meeting them, drew up their forces in order of battle. Agathocles had, at most, but 13,000 or 14,000 soldiers, and many of them lacked arms. The signal was given, and a fearful conflict ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, the flower of the Carthaginian forces, long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes disordered their ranks, but, overwhelmed at length with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead upon the field. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things, but he had private and personal reasons why he should not obtain a victory for his country; and, therefore, he perfidiously retired, leaving the palm of victory to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, Agathocles returned and plundered the Carthaginian camp, where he found many thousand manacles, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was, the capture of several strongholds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This was the first deadly thrust at the power of Carthage, whose weak point being thus discovered, the example was afterwards followed by the Romans. This is observable in a speech which Scipio made before the Roman senate. In reply to Fabius, who ascribed his design of making Africa the seat of war to temerity, he instanced this example of Agathocles in favour of his enterprise, and to show, that frequently there is no other way of escaping from an inveterate enemy, than by carrying war into his own country; and that men

are sometimes more courageous, when acting upon the offensive, than when they stand upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus attacked by their enemies, (B. C. 331,) ambassadors arrived from Tyre, who came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which the Tyrians were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and for this purpose they deputed thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief that they could not, by reason of the state of their own affairs, spare them any troops. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not, however, despond: they committed their wives, children, and the aged to the care of these deputies; and thus, being delivered from all inquietude with reference to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they thought only of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this company with tenderness, and rendered them all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents. The rest of the Tyrians, it is said, when they saw no hope of escaping the besiegers, embarked all their property on board the ships in their harbour, and fled thither also, so that on taking the city, the conqueror found nothing worthy of his labour; thus literally fulfilling the prediction of the prophet, which says, "Yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it," Ezek. xxix. 18.

At the same time Carthage was desirous of extricating itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods; and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities towards whom the Carthaginians had been, as they considered, remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been minutely observed. It was a custom, coeval with the city itself, for Carthage to send annually to Tyre the tenth of all the revenues of the republic as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both cities. The domain, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened, and they were far from remitting the tenth. They were seized with a scruple on

this point; they made an open and public confession of their guilt, and to expiate it, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small golden shrines of their false gods.

Another offence, which to this superstitious people seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them further uneasiness, and let them deeper into crime. This was the omission of sacrificing children of the best families in Carthage to Saturn. They reproached themselves with having failed to pay to this god the honours which they thought due to him, and with having used fraud towards him, by substituting the children of slaves or beggars purchased for that purpose, in their sacrifices. To expiate the guilt of this imagined impiety, a sacrifice was made of 200 children of the first rank, as upwards of 300 persons offered themselves as victims to pacify the wrath of their gods—so low were they sunk in the debasing depths of idolatry; and so true it is, that the dark regions of the earth, those destitute of the light of the gospel, are, in all ages of the world, "habitations of cruelty." Thrice glorious will that day be when, in the figurative language of the prophet, the gates of the church of Christ "shall be open continually," when "they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto" her "the forces of the Gentiles," Isa. lx. 11; for then, such deeds of darkness will cease.

After these expiations, expresses were despatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the tidings of what had taken place in Africa, and at the same time, to request immediate succours. He commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the subject of the victory of Agathocles, and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all destroyed, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and in confirmation of this report, he showed some irons belonging to vessels, which it was pretended had been taken and sent to him. This report was believed in Syracuse, and the majority were for capitulating, when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles' victory immediately flew through the city, and restored alacrity and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but he was repulsed; and he then raised the siege, and sent 5,000 men to the relief of his country. Some time after, having resumed the attempt, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans by attacking them in the night, his design was discovered, and falling into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with the most cruel tortures.

To these foreign enemies, was joined a domestic one, who was still more to be feared: this was Bomilcar, their general, who was then in possession of the first post in Carthage. He had long meditated the establishment of himself as tyrant at Carthage, and attaining the sovereign authority there; and he imagined that the present troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being seconded by a small number of citizens, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant, and sustained the character he had taken by slaying all the citizens whom he met in the streets. A tumult arising in the city, it was thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused it, the young men took up arms, and from the house-tops discharged darts and stones upon the soldiers' heads. When Bomilcar saw an army marching against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with a design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the lives of the citizens, a pardon was proclaimed for all, without exception, who should lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar, their chief, excepted; for the Carthaginians, without regarding their oath, condemned *him* to death, and fastened him to a cross, where he expired, reproaching them for their injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy.

Agathocles had allured to his interest, by the promise of the empire of Africa, a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas; but as he did not scruple to commit the most dreadful crimes, when he thought them conducive to his interests, the credulous monarch had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than he perfidiously caused him to be murdered, in order that the army of Ophellas might be entirely at his service. Several nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strongholds garrisoned by his forces; and as he now saw his affairs in Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly, leaving the command of his army to his son Archagathus, he returned thither. His renown went before him, and on his arrival in Sicily many towns revolted to him; but adverse news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had altered the face of things there; and all his endeavours proved incapable of restoring them to their former condition. His strongholds had surrendered to the enemy, the Africans had deserted him, some of his troops were lost,

and those remaining were unable to oppose the enemy; and, as he had no ships to transport them into Sicily, as the enemy were masters at sea, and he could not hope for either peace or treaty, he stole away with a few followers into Syracuse. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, revenged their wrongs upon his sons, whom they murdered, and then they surrendered to the enemy. He himself was soon after poisoned by one Maenon.

Within this period, another event, as related by Justin, may be recorded. The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might hereafter turn his arms towards Africa. The hapless fate of Tyre, whence they derived their origin, and which he had recently destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this naturally alarmed the Carthaginians. To discover his inclinations, therefore, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, and offered him his services. Hamilcar was well received by the king, and had several conferences with him, the result of which he transmitted secretly to his country; but notwithstanding he served his country thus devotedly, and at the expense of his own honour, after Alexander's death, he was considered its betrayer to that prince, and was condemned to die.

The next wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily were in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who married the daughter of Agathocles. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were known, in order to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either Rome or Carthage should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

The foresight of the Romans was well founded. Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, (B. C. 280;) he continued there and in Sicily six years, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves bound to assist the Romans, and they accordingly sent a fleet of six score sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the interest which his superiors took in the war waged

against the Romans, and proffered their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer, but at present thought fit to decline it.

Some days after, Mago repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage, for terminating his quarrel with the Romans. The real purport of his visit was, however, to discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which report said he was going to invade. The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for its conquest. With reference to Pyrrhus, their fears were well grounded, for soon after he invaded Sicily. At first his conquests were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybeum. He laid siege to this town also, but meeting with a vigorous resistance, was compelled to raise the siege; his affairs, however, recalled him to Italy. As he was embarking, he turned his eyes back to Sicily, and exclaimed, "What a fine field of battle do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!" a prediction which was soon verified in all its awful consequences.

After his departure, B. C. 275, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king. Hiero was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained some advantages over them. But now a common interest united them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, to the alarm of both powers: these were the Romans, who, having crushed all their enemies in Italy, were now powerful enough to attempt foreign conquests; and Sicily was so near and commodious, that they formed a resolution to establish themselves there. This invasion caused the rupture between the Romans and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war, the particulars of which will be recorded in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

The first Punic war commenced 264 years B. C., and it continued for twenty-three years. It had its origin in the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained masters of the city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, in the same barbarous manner. These two cities, supporting one another, rendered themselves formidable to their neighbors, and especially Messina, which became very powerful, and gave great uneasiness and offence, both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed part of Sicily. As soon as the Romans had conquered the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly Pyrrhus, they thought of punishing the crime of their citizens, who had so wantonly outraged humanity at Rhegium. Accordingly, they took the city, and slew the greater part of the inhabitants in battle: 300 only were left, and *they* were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in this execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened by the ruin of their confederate city, as well as by recent losses sustained by the attacks of the Syracusans, with Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their safety; but divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Car-

thaginians, whilst the other solicited the aid of the Romans, and resolved to put them in possession of the city.

The Roman senate looked upon this affair in a two-fold light. On the one hand, they considered that it was unworthy the Roman senate to undertake the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was the same as that of the Rhegians, which they had visited with exemplary punishment: on the other, they thought it of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, whose thirst for sway was such, that they would obtain all Sicily, if suffered to possess themselves of Messina, from whence they might easily pass over into Italy itself. These latter reasons appeared very strong; but motives of honour and justice prevailed, in this instance, over those of interest and policy, and the senate decided against affording them any assistance. The people, however, were not so scrupulous; for, in an assembly called to discuss this question, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted. The consul Appius immediately set forward with his army, and, eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginian general, boldly crossed the strait, and obtained, partly by force and partly by stratagem, possession both of the citadel and the city. The Carthaginians and Hiero prepared to besiege the town, but the consul defeated them separately, and laid waste the neighbouring country. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy, and this was the first step by which they ascended to that height of military renown for which they became so celebrated.

Hiero, having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies thither. Agrigentum was their rendezvous, which being attacked by the Romans, was taken, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.

The advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city, was great; but the Romans were sensible that, whilst the Carthaginians continued masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always co-operate with them, and place it out of their power to expel them from Sicily. Besides, they were not pleased to see Africa enjoy profound tranquillity at a time that Italy was visited by the frequent incursions of its enemies; they, therefore, now first formed the design of obtaining a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in appearance rash. They were not at that time possessed

of a single vessel which they could call their own, and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were, moreover, inexperienced in sea affairs, had no mechanics acquainted with the building of ships, and knew not even the shape of the quinqueremes, or galleys with five oars, in which the strength of fleets at that time consisted. They had, however, the year before seen one upon the coast of Italy, and, fired with ambition, they applied themselves with ardour to building ships of the same form. In the mean time, they collected a set of rowers, and seating them on benches arranged as those in the galleys, taught them an exercise and discipline unknown before. In two months, 100 galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of three benches, were built, and the fleet put to sea under the command of the consul Duillius.

The Romans met with the Carthaginians near the coast of Mylae, and both sides prepared for an engagement. As the Roman galleys were clumsily built, they were not easy to steer; but this inconvenience was supplied by a machine afterwards known by the name of the *corvus*, crow, or crane; by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to a close engagement. The signal was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of 130 sail, under the command of Hannibal. He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. Despising enemies, who were ignorant of sea affairs, the Carthaginians came forward boldly, believing that the victory was theirs. They were, nevertheless, surprised when they saw the corvus thrown forcibly into their vessels, and grappling them in spite of all resistance. By this means the form of the engagement was changed: the Carthaginians were compelled to struggle with the enemy as though they were on land, and they were unable to sustain the attack. A fearful slaughter ensued; the Carthaginians lost four score vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping in a small boat with difficulty. This event occurred 260 years B. C.

So great and unexpected a victory raised the courage of the Romans, and redoubled their eagerness for the continuance of the war; and, growing still stronger at sea during the next two years, they meditated the design of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more;

and to avoid this evil, they resolved to meet the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius consuls for this year. (B.C. 259.) Their fleet consisted, according to Polybius, of 330 vessels, while that of the Carthaginians, who set sail at the same time, to intercept the consuls in their passage, consisted of twenty more, and was more numerously manned. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily, and they soon met in combat. As the courage on both sides was equal, the victory was long doubtful; but at length the Carthaginians were overcome, more than sixty of their ships were taken, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost only twenty-four.

The result of this victory, as the Romans designed, was their sailing to Africa and landing there. They commenced hostilities by taking a town called Clypea, (a name derived from *clypeus*, a shield,) which possessed a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the country, making dreadful havoc, bringing away flocks of cattle, and 20,000 prisoners.

After taking several castles, Regulus laid siege to Adis, one of the strongest fortresses in Africa. The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands, at length took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill overlooking the Roman camp, and which was convenient for annoying the enemy. At the same time, however, it rendered one part of their army useless, namely, that of their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus, taking advantage of this mistake, fell upon them, and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put them to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent country; then, having taken Tunis, (now the seat of a Turkish bey, and the capital of a large territory called the kingdom of Tunis,) which brought him near Carthage, he encamped his army there.

The Carthaginians were in the utmost alarm. Every thing had been disastrous: their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of 200 towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides this, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital attacked: and their apprehensions were increased when they saw peasants from all

quarters, with their wives and children, flock to Carthage for safety; for they expected from thence a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victory torn from him by a successor, made some proposals of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions were such that they could not be accepted. As he did not doubt of his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated his foes with haughtiness, and pretended that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour, adding this insult, "That they ought either to overcome, like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor." Such harsh and disdainful treatment only increased their resentment, and they resolved rather to die than to accept any terms which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received a reinforcement of auxiliary troops from Greece, having at their head, Xanthippus the Lacedemonian, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learned the art of war in that school, When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost, and perfectly informed himself in what the strength of Carthage consisted, he declared publicly that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing to the incapacity of their generals. This was reported to the council, and its members requested him to attend them. He enforced his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed were apparent to every one; and he proved as clearly, that by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. The courage and hopes of the Carthaginians were again revived; and Xanthippus was entreated, and, in some measure, compelled to accept the command of the army.

The Carthaginian army was composed of 12,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and about 100 elephants. That of the Romans, as near as can be discovered, consisted of 15,000 foot and 300 horse.

The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear from the paucity of the numbers, was nevertheless to determine the fate of Carthage. The combatants came in sight of each other, and the two armies being drawn up with all the skill their respective generals could exercise, they waited only for the signal. At length Xanthippus ordered

the elephants to advance to break the ranks of the enemy, and commanded the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after their usual wont, advanced against the enemy. Their cavalry, being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians, could not stand the onset long. The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attacks of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries, who formed the enemy's right wing, attacked it, put it to flight, and pursued it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were, however, broken and trodden under foot; and when the rear, attacked by the enemy's cavalry, was obliged to face about and receive it, and those who had broken through the elephants met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides and defeated. Only 2000 escaped; all the rest, Regulus and 500 prisoners excepted, were left dead on the field. The Carthaginians, after having stripped those who had been slain, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus and the rest of the prisoners; after which, the whole city crowded to the temples of their false gods to return thanks, and then devoted several days to festivities and rejoicings. The date of this event was 256 years B. C.

Xanthippus, we are told by Polybius, who had contributed so much to this change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, in a foreign country, and among a cruel and treacherous people. We read in Appian, however, that the Carthaginians were jealous of his honour, and that, unable to endure the thought that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety, upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, gave private orders to have them all put to death on their passage; as though with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their ingratitude. It is a matter of doubt which of these historians is correct, but the former statement seems the most probable, though the perfidy of the Carthaginians was proverbial.

The disaster which the Romans met with in Africa by no

means discouraged them. They made, indeed, greater preparations than before to retrieve their loss, and they put to sea the following campaign with 360 vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with 200, but they were repulsed in an engagement fought on the coasts of Sicily, with the loss of 114 ships.

The Romans, after this sailed to Africa and took in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy after the defeat of Regulus, and who had defended themselves in Clypea against all opposers. On their return, the Romans were overtaken by a storm which destroyed nearly the whole of their fleet. A similar misfortune attended them also during the following year; but they consoled themselves for this double loss by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took nearly 140 elephants. This news being brought to Rome, filled the whole city with joy, and it was deemed expedient to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls accordingly set sail B. C. 251, with a fleet of 200 ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybeum.

The town of Lilybeum was the strongest which the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily, and the loss of it would have been attended with that of every part of the island, and would have opened to the Romans a free passage into Africa. Great exertions were therefore made for its retention. Imilco was governor there, with 10,000 regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, brought him as many more from Carthage.

The Romans lost no time. Having brought forward their battering rams, they demolished several towers; and gaining ground daily, they made such progress as excited in the besieged fears for the event. The governor saw indeed, that the city would be lost, if the engines of the Romans were not destroyed. Accordingly, he prepared his forces for this enterprise; he sent them out at day-break with torches, tow, and all kinds of combustible material; and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans exerted their utmost efforts to repel them, and the engagement was very fatal; every one, assailant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than retreat. At length, after a long resistance, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. The conflict being over Han-

nibal embarked secretly in the night, and sailed for Drepanum, a commodious port about 120 furlongs from Lilybeum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians.

Animated by their late successes, the Romans renewed the attack with greater vigour than heretofore. But they were to suffer a reverse. A furious wind rising suddenly, some of the mercenaries represented to the governor, that it was a favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew against them; and they seconded their representation by offering themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and being furnished with every thing necessary, they sallied forth from the city. They succeeded in their design: in a moment the fire caught all the engines, and the Romans could not extinguish it, because, the flames spreading every where, the winds carried the sparks and smoke full in their faces, so that they could not see where to apply a remedy. Through this event, the Romans lost all hopes of being able to carry the place by force; they therefore turned the siege into a blockade, raised a strong line of contravallation round the town, and dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time what they could not perform by force.

When the transactions of the siege of Lilybeum, and the loss of a part of their forces, were known at Rome, the citizens redoubled their exertions; every man strove to be foremost in the muster roll; so that in a very little time, an army was raised of 10,000 men, who crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum (B. C. 249.) Flushed with hope, the better to conceal his design, he sailed out with his fleet in the night. But he had to cope with a general whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him, whilst his fleet was in confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels escaped; the rest amounting to ninety-three, were, with all on board them, taken by the enemy, a few soldiers excepted.

Junius, the colleague of P. Claudius Pulcher, was neither more prudent nor fortunate; for he lost his whole fleet by misconduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some great action, he held a secret correspondence with the

inhabitants of Eryx,* and by that means obtained possession of the city. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, so called from being worshipped at Eryx, the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the only access to it was by a long and rugged road. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he had in that position nothing to fear. He was soon undeceived; for Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the celebrated Hannibal, who was now (B. C. 247) placed at the head of the Carthaginian army, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the Romans, and there fortified himself. From this position he harassed the Romans for two years incessantly.

During the next five years, nothing memorable was performed on either side. The Romans had imagined that their land forces would be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybeum; but, as they saw it protracted, they returned to their original plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by individual zeal: every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense, and advanced money upon public security, by which means 200 ships were in a little time prepared for a new enterprise. The command was given to Lutatius, the consul, B. C. 242. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa; the consul therefore, easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybeum, and foreseeing an engagement, he omitted no precautions to ensure sucess.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near. This fleet was under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum, with the design to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, to reinforce his troops, and to take Barca on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul suspected his intention; and having assembled all his best forces, he sailed for the small island Ægusa, or Ægates, which lay near

*It must be observed here, that the port of Drepanum lay north of Lilybesum at the foot of Mount Eryx. The city of Eryx stood on the declivity of the mountain, and the temple of Venus on the summit. Thus the port, city, and the temple were connected together. The mountain is now called Monte de San Juliana, and is reckoned the highest in Sicily, Ætna excepted.

Hiera. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow; and, accordingly, at day-break he prepared to do so. On the report of the Romans being in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, the soldiers being all mercenaries, newly levied, without any experience, resolution, or zeal. This soon appeared in the engagement; for they could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with all on board. The rest, favoured by a wind, made the best of their way to Hiera. The consul sailed immediately for Lilybeum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned the greatest surprise and alarm. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves unable to contine the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to their armies in Sicily. An express was, therefore, immediately despatched to Barca, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. Barca, so long as he could entertain hope, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist and yield at a seasonable juncture. Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were become of a war, which had exhausted their resources, and thinned the ranks of their citizens; and the awful consequences, which had attended on the inexorable conduct of Regulus, were fresh in his memory; he therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:—" There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage (in case the Roman people approve of it) on the following conditions: the Carthaginians shall evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make war upon Hiero, the Syracusans, or their allies: they shall restore to the Romans without ransom all the prisoners which they have taken from them; and pay them within twenty years, 2200* Euboic talents of silver."

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, disapproving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the sub-

* 515,000*l.* English money.

stance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years; 1000 talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which were to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty; but they resigned it by another which was made some years afterwards.

Such was the conclusion of a war, one of the longest mentioned in history. We see in the perusal of it, traces of the fallen nature of man, written, as it were, in characters of blood. Ambition and revenge—these were the sources from whence it arose, and by which it was continued, through this long period of time. Nor could these passions be appeased till seas of blood were shed, thousands of parents were left childless, thousands of wives made widows, thousands of children fatherless, and one of the contending powers saw itself on the brink of ruin. Then, when all these evils, and more, had occurred, ambition descended from its towering height, revenge repressed its resentment, and peace that gladdens the fair creation of God by its hallowed influence, was eagerly sought for and obtained. But such is the state of man in all ages, and in all countries, where the ever-blessed gospel of Christ has not enlightened the mind, and renovated the heart. In the Christian's heart, where peace is obtained through the blood of the cross, there love will prevail; and when all nations are governed by the principles of the gospel, war will cease. Under its hallowed influence, men take up the burden of the song of the angels, when the "Prince of Peace" was born, and sing, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men:" or, as a commentator well paraphrases this passage: "Glory be to God in the highest heavens: let all the angelic beings resound his praises; for, with the Redeemer's birth, peace and all manner of happiness are come down to dwell on earth; yea, the overflowings of Divine good will and favour are now exercised toward men."

THE LIBYAN WAR, OR AGAINST THE MERCENARIES.

The Carthaginians were not long permitted to enjoy peace. They had often hired a foreign sword, to carry desolation into distant countries, and now, scarcely had peace been agreed upon, when that same sword was turned against themselves in

the very heart of their republic. The mercenary troops who had served under them in Sicily, waged a war against them for three years and a half, which was conducted with such cruelty and barbarity, on both sides, as scarcely meets with a parallel in the voluminous annals of history. The occasion of it was as follows.

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar, having carried to Lilybeum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission, and left to Gisgo, governor of the place, the care of transporting the mercenary forces to Africa. Gisgo, as though he foresaw what would happen, sent only a portion at a time, in order that they might be paid and sent home before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great foresight in Gisgo, but it was not seconded at Carthage. As the treasury of the republic had been exhausted by the long war, the forces were not paid as they arrived, but it was deemed expedient to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from all a remission of some part of the arrears. This was a great oversight; for these soldiers, having been long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which it was proposed to their officers, to remove them all to a neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till their companions arrived. The Carthaginians committed another error in refusing to let them leave their baggage, wives, and children, in Carthage, as they desired; for, if they had, these would have been so many hostages, and would have ensured peace.

At length, being all met together at Sicca, they computed the arrears of their pay, which they made amount to more than was due, and they added to the computation the promises received at different times, as an encouragement to do their duty. Hanno, who was the governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to them to consent to an abatement of arrears, in consideration of the distress to which the commonwealth was reduced. This proposal was received with disdain. Complaints, murmurs, seditions and insolent clamours, were heard on every side; and the troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to each other's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once mutinied. Finally, transported with rage, they marched towards Carthage, to the number of twenty thousand, and encamped at Tunis, not far from that city.

When it was too late, the Carthaginians discovered their error; and there was no compliance, how grovelling soever, to which they did not stoop to soothe the exasperated soldiers. But this was of no avail; they took advantage of their fear, and practised every art which could be devised to obtain money from them. As nothing could be settled, the Carthaginians with great difficulty prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they fixed upon Gisgo, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner, recalling to mind the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service, the sums they had received from the republic, and then granted almost the whole of their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult. One of these was Spendius, a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and had fled for protection to the Carthaginians. The fear this man felt of falling into the hands of his former master (by whom, according to custom, he would have been put to death) prompted him to break off the agreement. In this act, he was seconded by one Matho, who had been very active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they being left alone, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This, again, roused their fury, and they immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their leaders. No remonstrances were heard, or allowed to be heard, and they commenced hostilities by plundering Gisgo's tent, and by dragging that general himself, with all his attendants, after treating them with the utmost indignities, to prison. All the cities of Africa, to which they had sent deputies to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which cities they immediately besieged.

Carthage had never before been exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens drew their subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid by Africa, and these supplies were now stopped. Also they found themselves destitute of arms and forces; of all necessary preparations either for sustaining a siege or equipping a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, withou any hopes of foreign assistance either from friends or allies.

In some degree, they might impute to themselves the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the natives of Africa with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, and exacting them even from squalid poverty. Hence no great efforts were needed to prevail upon the Africans to engage in this rebellion. It broke out, and became general, at the very first signal made. The women, who had often seen their husbands dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men, and cheerfully gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty. An instructive lesson, says Polybius, to rulers, how a people should be treated, as it teaches them to look not only to the present, but to extend their views to futurity.

But notwithstanding their present distress, the Carthaginians did not despair. They made the most extraordinary efforts to raise an army, the command of which was given to Hanno. Nor were the rebels less active in their exertions. Their army was now increased to 70,000 men, and, after detachments had been drawn from it to carry on the sieges of Utica and Hippacra, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, and filled it with perpetual alarms.

Hanno marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved decisive; but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who had retreated to a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them, took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the supplies that had been brought from Carthage for the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno, and therefore Hamilcar was appointed to succeed him. This general soon obliged the rebels to raise the siege of Utica; and he then marched against their army, which was encamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts; which successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

A young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who had lately arrived to the aid of Carthage, out of esteem for Hamilcar, with 2000 Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the

rebels, who had enclosed him in a valley, and repulsed them with great slaughter, taking 4000 prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this conflict. Hamilcar took into his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should not again wage war against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every one, if taken, should be put to death; an act which proved the wisdom of that general.

Spendius, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occasion a defection among his troops, thought that the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be to strike some signal blow, which would deprive them of all hopes of a reconciliation. Accordingly, after having read some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him of rescuing Gisgo and his companions from prison, he brought them to the barbarous resolution of putting them to death. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and 700 prisoners who were confined with him, were brought to the front of the camp, and there sacrificed in the most cruel manner that revenge could devise. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to inter them, but they were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever came again upon such an errand should meet with Gisgo's fate. The rebels, indeed, came to the resolution of treating all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and they decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage; which cruel resolution was carried into effect on all the prisoners afterwards taken.

The Carthaginians were just beginning to recover themselves, when they were plunged again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals; the provisions which were coming to them by sea, and of which they were in extreme need, were cast away in a storm; and Utica and Hippacra, the only cities which had hitherto maintained their allegiance inviolate, revolted.

Animated by these circumstances, the rebels laid siege to Carthage, but they were obliged immediately to raise it. They continued the war, however, and having drawn together into one body their own troops and those of the allies, making upwards of 50,000 men, they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but kept their own on the hills; carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, as they feared

the enemy's cavalry and elephants. Hamilcar never exposed himself to any of their attacks, but, taking advantage of their oversights, often dispossessed them of their posts, and at length surprised them, and shut them up in a post, so situated, that it was impossible for them to escape. Not daring to venture a battle, they fortified their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and entrenchments. But an enemy among themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity. This was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last devoured one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the cruelty they had exercised on others.

The rebels had now no resources left, and they knew too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them should they fall into the hands of the enemy. After such cruelties as they had committed, they at first did not dream of peace, or of proposing an accommodation. In the mean time, the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves, and now their fellow-soldiers only were left. Their chiefs, no longer able to resist the complaints of the multitude, who threatened to put them to death if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, and treat them as they pleased, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested and detained by the Carthaginians, which showed their peculiar characteristic, namely, a lack of truth and sincerity. The rebels hearing this, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and immediately took up arms; but Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them under foot, or slew them with the sword, to the number of more than 40,000.

The immediate result of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which had been, since the commencement of the war, the asylum of the rebels. He invested it on one side, whilst Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be erected, he hung Spendius on one and his companions on the others, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in Tunis, saw plainly

by this what he might expect, and for that reason was very attentive to his defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, confident of success, was negligent in all his motions, he attacked him, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, amongst whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments. He also sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance, as though there had been a mutual emulation between the contending parties, which of them should surpass the other in acts of cruelty. But such is ever the effect of paganism; Christianity alone can teach mankind true humanity.

Hamilcar, being then at a distance, it was long before the news of his colleague's misfortune reached him, and the road lying between the two camps being impassable, it was impossible for him to advance to his assistance. At Carthage, the disaster caused great consternation; and it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar, and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals in the name of the republic to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentment to their country's welfare. This request was complied with; they embraced, and were reconciled.

The Carthaginians were successful in all their undertakings from this time; and Matho, who in every attempt after this came off with disadvantage, at length was obliged to hazard a battle, an act which the Carthaginians desired. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as though they were going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued, and victory declared itself in favour of Carthage. The rebels were almost all slain, and those who escaped the sword were taken prisoners. Matho was taken alive and carried to Carthage, where with the rest of the prisoners he was executed. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two cities Utica and Hippacra, which had lately revolted, and they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

Such was the conclusion of the war (B. C. 238,) against the mercenaries, after having continued three years and four months. "It furnished," says Polybius, "an ever memorable lesson to the natives, not to employ in their service a

greater number of mercenaries than citizens, nor to rely for the defence of their state on a body of men who are united to it neither by interest nor affection." A more important lesson than this is, however, conveyed to nations in this history. It teaches them, not to hire the sword to destroy, lest, by a righteous retribution, it be afterwards ordained that it should destroy themselves. The Psalmist said, "Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth," Psa. lviii. 11. And David's Lord declared, that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," Matt. xxvi. 52.

THE AFFAIRS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA.

The Carthaginians suffered other disasters from the revolt of the mercenaries. Transactions occurred in Sardinia at the same time which were in a great measure dependent on, and resulting from the war in Africa. They exhibit, also, the same violent methods to promote rebellion, and the same excess of cruelty; as though the winds of heaven had carried the spirit of discord and fury from the one country to the other.

When the news arrived there of what Matho and Spendius were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island revolted. They began their rebellion by the murder of Bostar, their general, and of the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent, but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels, and hung their general on a cross. Throughout the whole island, the Carthaginians were now put to the sword, after having been made to endure much cruel suffering. The rebels then besieged all the cities, one after another, and obtained possession of the whole country. Discord, however, arising between the natives and the mercenaries, the latter were driven out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, which, on account of its extent and fertility, was of great importance to them.

Ever since the treaty, the Romans had behaved towards the Carthaginians with great justice and moderation. A slight breach had been made on account of some Roman merchants who were seized by the Carthaginians for having supplied their enemies with provisions; but these merchants being restored on the first complaint of wrong, the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity, were reconciled to the Carthaginians. They served them,

indeed, to the utmost of their power; they forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions; and even refused to listen to the proposals made by the rebels in Sardinia, who invited them to take possession of the island.

But this conduct degenerated by degrees, and Cesar's testimony to their honesty and plain dealing could not, with propriety, be applied here. "Although," said he, "in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never—how inviting soever the opportunity might be—be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage, being more attentive to their own glory than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies." The mercenaries, who, as we have seen, retired into Italy, brought the Romans to the resolution of sailing into Sardinia to take possession of the island. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at this news, pretending that they had a better title to Sardinia than the Romans: and they therefore prepared to take revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. The Romans pretended that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but Rome; and they therefore declared war against the Carthaginians. But the latter, exhausted in every respect, were in no condition to sustain war, and they were forced to yield to their powerful rival. By a treaty, to which necessity compelled them to agree, they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of 1200 talents. This injustice of the Romans, however, was the cause of the second Punic war, as related in the next portion of our narrative.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The second Punic war which commenced 218 years B. C., is one of the most memorable recorded in the page of history; if we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the skill displayed in their execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their greatest misfortunes; the variety of uncommon events; and the instructive lessons that occur in its narrative, concerning war, policy, government, and, above all, the human heart. Never had two more powerful, or at least more warlike states, been opposed to each other; and scarcely ever had these attained to a more exalted pitch of power and glory; Rome and Car-

thage at that time were, doubtless, the two first states in the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew each other's strength; but great as the forces of these two nations were, their mutual hatred exceeded it. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the rapacious and harsh treatment which they imagined they had received from the victor. Their ancient enmity, moreover, excited them to the fearful conflict.

Before we speak of the declaration of war betwixt these two powers, it is necessary to explain whence it arose, and to point out by what steps the rupture was so long preparing before it was made manifest. That man, says Polybius, would be mistaken, who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for having so tamely given up Sicily by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans in dispossessing the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and of imposing on them a new tribute when they were in difficulties; and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain;—these were the true causes of the violation of the treaty. Hamilcar, indeed, was highly exasperated on account of this last treaty, to which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit; and he meditated the design of breaking it on the first favourable opportunity. When the troubles of Africa were appeased, he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians, in which giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain, 237 B. C. Hannibal, his son, at that time but nine years of age, importuned to attend him on this occasion, for which purpose he employed all those infantine arts which have so much power over a tender parent. Hamilcar could not refuse him, and having made him swear upon the altar that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans, as soon as age would allow him to do it, he took him with him.

This act, to a Christian reader, may appear strange, but it was a common practice among the ancient heathen, and seems to have been considered by them as a virtue. Its fatal effects, however, as exhibited to us in the narrative, show that it was one of their darkest deeds. Besides, to the humane, there is

something fearful in the thought of instilling revenge into the breast of an infant. There is something also unjust towards that infant. Why should a parent, who loves his child as his own soul, seek to implant that principle in his breast, which has been his own torment, and probably will be his own ruin? The fearful consequences of such a practice are discovered in many transactions recorded in ancient history. Powerful families, by this means, have been divided from age to age, and the son has made the sword of his sire bright, to revenge his quarrels, till destruction has fallen upon his own head.

But this evil is not confined to the ancients; for notwithstanding we are taught by the ever blessed Jesus, who "spake as never man spake," to love our enemies, there are those now who not only hate their enemies themselves, but teach their children to hate them and their descendants also, and thus aim to perpetuate their quarrels through many generations. It is true, that evils to the same extent do not follow the moderns as they did the ancients; but this is, in many instances, rather the effects of the wholesome restraints put upon us by the laws of our country: take these away, and the deadly strife in which ancient families were involved, will be renewed among ourselves. Human nature is the same in all countries, and in all ages of the world; great need have we, therefore to pray for the saving influences of God's Holy Spirit, that we may sojourn below as good citizens of the world, loving and beloved.

We proceed with our narrative. Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general, according to the estimation of the world. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added an engaging and insinuating behaviour. In a very short time, he subdued the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct, and after enjoying the command there nine years, he died in arms, serving the cause of his country.

The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal, his son-in-law, to succeed him. This general, to strengthen himself in the country, built a city, which became very considerable. It was called New Carthage, and is at this day known by the name of Carthagena.

From the several steps of these two generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some great design. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence, at a time that the enemy were rapidly pursu-

ing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very glad to have stopped their career; but the fear of another enemy, the Gauls, whom they expected to see very shortly at their very gates, prevented their taking any such measures. They, therefore, had recourse to negociations, and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article by which the Carthaginians were not permitted to extend their conquests beyond the Iberus.

Asdrubal, in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests; taking care, however, not to pass beyond the stipulated limits: but by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he won over the chiefs of the several nations, and furthered the interests of Carthage more than he could have done by the force of arms. But Asdrubal, after having governed Spain eight years, was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took this revenge upon him, because his master had fallen by the hand of that general.

Three years before his death, he had written to Carthage to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. To this request (after much opposition from Hanno, one of the senators, who represented that Hannibal, being so ambitious and so young a man, should still be kept under the eye of the magistrates, that he might learn obedience and modesty) the Carthaginians acceded. Hannibal, accordingly, set sail for Spain, and immediately on his arrival there, he drew upon himself the attention of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial figure displayed itself in his form; and he possessed the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers undaunted, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle wonderful: and a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition was so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals.

Hannibal served three campaigns under Asdrubal; and upon the death of that general, the suffrages of both the army and the people concurred in raising him to the supreme command. The moment he was created general, true to his un

hallowed vow, he turned secretly his whole mind upon war with Rome, and the means of obtaining possession of Italy. In Spain, he captured several towns, and conquered many nations. But he still forbore laying siege to Saguntum, carefully avoiding giving offence to the Romans, till he should have taken every step which he judged necessary for so important an enterprise. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears.

The Saguntines, on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and acquaint themselves with the state of affairs upon the spot; they commanded them, also, to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, that they should go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time, Hannibal, foreseeing the great advantages which would accrue from the taking of Saguntum, laid siege to that city. He was persuaded that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying on the war in Spain; that this new conquest would secure those already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be unmolested; that he should find money enough in the city for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater cheerfulness; and that the spoils which he should send to Carthage would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with vigour; he set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

It was soon told at Rome that Saguntum was besieged; but the Romans, instead of hastening to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates and deputations. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them; they therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception: the complaints of the Romans, and the remonstrances of Hanno, who advocated peace, were alike unheeded.

During all the voyages and negociations, the siege was pursued with vigour; and the Saguntines were now reduced

to the last extremity. An accommodation was at length proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the besieged could not accept them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into the fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time, a tower, which had been long assaulted by the battering-ram, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, made themselves masters of it, and slew all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. The Carthaginians obtained a very great booty. Hannibal, however, did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils, but applied them solely to the carrying on his enterprises. Polybius observes, that the capture of Saguntum was of service to Hannibal, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, and reconciled all Carthage to him, by the large presents he made to the state out of the spoils. Saguntum was taken 219 years B. C.

When the news reached Rome, the greatest grief and consternation prevailed among its inhabitants. Compassion for its fate; shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies; indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of these calamities; a strong alarm, raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied as already at their gates;—all these sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that, during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution. They gave way to the torrent of their passion, and shed tears for the fate of a city which fell a victim to its inviolable fidelity to them, and had been betrayed by their own indolence. But when they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimously against the Carthaginians.

That no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by the order of the republic, and if so, to declare war; or, in case the siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the power of the Romans. The deputies, perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their interrogatories, one of them, taking up the folded lappet of his robe, "I bring here," said he, in a haughty tone, "either peace or war; the choice is left to yourselves." The senate answered, that they left the choice to him: "I give you war, then," said he, unfolding

his robe. "And we," replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, "as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness."

Thus lightly could the ancient heathen speak of an event which would bring the utmost misery upon thousands, and cause all of both nations to suffer; for all suffer, even in a successful war; the victor and the vanquished taste alike of its bitter fruits. Would that many, calling themselves Christians, did not speak as lightly of warfare, with all its calamities! But there are those, even in Christendom, who speak lightly of war, who only think of the glitter and the pomp that attend it, but who forget the innumerable evils, public and private, which it inflicts on families and nations, whether successful or unsuccessful. But there will come a day, when all these false disguises shall be laid aside, when man will respect the rights and life of his fellow-man, though he may meet with him in the wilds of Africa; when all mankind shall look upon each other as brothers, as members of one family, whose Creator and Father is God. Thus it will be when Christ shall reign, as we know from prophecy he will, in and over the hearts of men; when the knowledge of the Lord shall spread over the earth, as the waters cover the sands of the ocean.

This war was proclaimed 218 years B. C., and it continued during the seventeen succeeding years. When it was resolved upon, Hannibal, before he discovered his design, thought it incumbent upon him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa. With this view, he removed the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this, from a persuasion, that each army being at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service, and more firmly attached to him, as they would be hostages for each others' fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about 40,000 men, and those in Spain to about 15,000. The command of the Spanish forces was given to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coasts.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge some vows which he had made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war upon which he was entering; a practice very common among the ancient heathens. Polybius gives us a clear idea of the distance of

the several places through which Hannibal was to march on his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out, to the Iberus, 2600 furlongs. From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separated Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo, were 1600 furlongs. From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of 1600 furlongs. From the pass of the Rhone to the Alps, 1400. From the Alps to the plains of Italy, 1200 furlongs. Thus from New Carthage to the plains of Italy were 8400 furlongs; or, allowing 625 feet to the furlong, 944 English miles, and almost one-third.

This celebrated march of Hannibal's is one of the most important and interesting events recorded in the page of history, if we consider the greatness of its design, its boldness, and its difficulty, the comprehension and mental energy displayed in its plan and execution, and its final consequences. Accordingly, from the days of Polybius to the present hour, it has been the theme of praise, and the subject of wonder and admiration. The classical student is absorbed in his earliest career in its contemplation, and perhaps there is scarcely a reader who peruses the story, but notwithstanding it exhibits a thirst for revenge at which humanity shudders, feels much delight. In fancy he accompanies the warrior—attends his every step—shares and sighs over his dangers—climbs with him the Alpine steeps—gazes on their perpetual snows, and scales their rugged summits—views in the distance the fertile plains of the Po, and the direction of Rome—and finally descends with him from the lofty summits, treads the verdant fields, and enjoys the balmy air of Italy.

Hannibal commenced his march late in the spring. His army then consisted of about 100,000 men, of which 12,000 were cavalry; he had also about forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march; but he lost a considerable part of his army. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with 11,000 men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those that were to follow him. He dismissed a similar number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits; and offering to the rest a hope that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse.

Being arrived within about four days' march from the mouth of the Rhone, Hannibal attempted to cross it, because the river in this place took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ships, boats, and small vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants, being commercial, had a great number; he likewise built a number of boats, vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of attacking them in front, and, therefore, he ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to pass the river higher up; and, in order to conceal his march and the design he had in view from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he wished, and they passed the river the next day without opposition.

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely accoutred, were put into boats, that their riders might on landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which one man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, or trunks of trees made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage of the rest of the small fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, uttered dreadful cries and howlings; and clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were greatly astonished, when they heard a noise behind them, perceived their tents on fire, and saw themselves attacked both in front and rear. They had no means of escape but by flight, and they, accordingly, retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river without molestation.

The elephants occasioned much trouble. They were sent over the next day in the following manner:—From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, 200 feet in length, and fifty in breadth. This was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and covered over with earth, so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground.

From this raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only 100 feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after; and when they were placed upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore.

At what part of the Rhone this passage was made, has been a matter of dispute for many ages, among those interested in the subject. From recent researches, however, it is clearly shown, that it was at the modern town of Roquemaure.

The arguments in support of this fact are briefly these:—From the point where Hannibal crossed the Rhone, to the commencement of the ascent of the Alps, is reckoned by Polybius to be 1400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles. Of this space 800 stadia are assigned as the distance, from the *Neros* or Peninsula to the ascent; leaving 600 stadia from the passage of the river to the Insula Allobrogum, or *Neros* just mentioned. Now, Roquemaure is exactly this distance from Port L'Isere where the Insula Allobrogum begins. Again, Polybius has assigned a distance of four marches up the river to where Hannibal crossed it, and if we estimate a day's march at fifteen miles, as was usual in ancient times, this would give sixty miles from the embouchure of the river, and Roquemaure is sixty-four miles distance from the sea. This difference is not much when we recollect, that the Rhone is the most rapid river in Europe, having a descent of 1200 English feet from the Leman Lake, being six feet of average descent per mile, on a horizontal line of 200 English miles. From this cause, it must have brought down with its rapid current such a quantity of debris, as must have added, during the space of 2000 years which has intervened, considerably to the land at the mouth of the river. Another circumstance that favours the supposition that Hannibal crossed the river at Roquemaure, is, that the Rhone is thickly studded with islands; the channel, therefore, is consequently broad, and the rapidity and force of the current diminished and broken; whereas from Daderouse to Roquemaure, a distance of three miles, the river flows in one unbroken current, and is unfordable. This is more particularly the case at Roquemaure, and Hannibal, says Polybius, made a passage across the stream, where it flowed in one collected and unbroken current, and where it was unfordable from its depth. Again, the position

of Roquemaure was very favourable to Hannibal's plan of leaving the sea behind. To have attempted a passage below the confluence of the Durance with the Rhone, would have been dangerous at all times, and impracticable when the Durance was swollen by the melting snows: besides, had he crossed below the junction of these two streams, he could not have been four days' march from the sea; and had he crossed above Roquemaure, he could scarcely have found one collected stream, and the distance to the Insula Allobrogum would not have been 600 stadia. A final proof that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Roquemaure, is deduced from the coincidence of the distance from Emporium, or Ampurias, which Polybius states to be 1600 stadia, or 200 Roman miles. The distance from Emporium to Nemauses at Nismes is 176 Roman miles, and from thence to Roquemaure is twenty-eight more, making a total of 204 miles.

We return to our narrative. The two Roman consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain, with sixty ships, two Roman legions, 14,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily with 160 ships, two legions, 16,000 foot, and 1800 horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted at that time of 4000 foot, and 300 horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybeum, a seaport town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war; he was greatly astonished, therefore, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, a sea-port and a city in France, advice was brought him that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached 300 horse to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached 500 Numidian horse for the same purpose, during which some of his soldiers were employed in bringing over the elephants.

At the same time, Hannibal gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was looked for, and that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans: he himself offered to conduct the army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When this prince had retired, Hannibal, in a speech to his tooops, magnified this deputation from the Gauls, extolled the bravery which his forces had shown

hitherto, and exhorted them to sustain their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, declared their readiness to follow whithersoever he pleased to lead them. Accordingly, he appointed the next day for his march; and, after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them, desiring at the same time that they would take the necessary refreshments.

Whilst this occurred, the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged the Roman detachment. The conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of the combatants; 160 of the Romans were slain, and more than 200 of their enemies. But the honour of the skirmish fell to the Romans; the Numidians having retired and left them the field of battle. This action was interpreted as an omen of the fate of the whole war, as promising final success, after a fearful struggle, to the Romans. It may, in fact, be said to have shown the genius and spirit of the two nations; the Africans the most impetuous, the Romans the most persevering; both courageous, and rendered fierce by mutual hatred. On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had designed, decamped the next day, and crossed through the midst of Gaul, advancing northward; not that this was the nearest way, but, as it led from the sea, it prevented a meeting with Scipio, and by that means favoured the design he had of marching all his forces into Italy, without having them weakened by a battle.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone till three days after his departure. Despairing, therefore of overtaking him, he re-embarked his troops, resolving to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to oppose Asdrubal; and he set forward immediately for Genoa, intending to oppose the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

In four days from the commencement of his march, Hannibal, after crossing the Rhone at Roquemaure, reached the Neros, or Insula Allobrogum, at the Port L'Isere. At this place, he found two brothers contending for the sovereignty. The arrival of Hannibal was a happy circumstance for the

elder brother, for he reinstated him in his dominions. Hannibal also profited by this event; for, grateful for such assistance, the barbarian supplied his army with every necessary, whether of clothing or provision, to enable them to cross the Alps: he even attended it in person, as an escort, and covered their rear from the attacks of the Allobroges, (who, however, kept at some distance,) till Hannibal had reached the foot of the Alps, whither in ten days he arrived.

Hannibal encamped at Chelvelu, or Lavisca, the very entrance of the pass over the Mont du Chat, ninety-eight miles distant from Port L'Isere. This pass is much lower than any other part of the mountain, and the very place through which alone an army could pass.

From Chevelu to the summit is two miles of ascent, where there is an esplanade of 300 yards square. The ascent is easy, and over it the Austrian army passed, with all their baggage and artillery in 1815. Here Hannibal found the enemy posted, but discovering by his guides and scouts that they retired from thence in the night and returned at dawn of day, he occupied the pass during the night with his light troops, which, when the Allobroges saw in the morning, they desisted at first from making any opposition, and the army commenced their way through the defile. But the road was rough and stony, and the horses and beasts of burden could with difficulty keep their feet. This the Allobroges foresaw would be the case, and therefore they made a furious charge upon Hannibal from the adjacent heights. They were, however, soon repulsed by Hannibal and the light troops down a sloping side of the eminence, which they had seized during the preceding night. Hannibal followed up his success, and stormed their chief town, Bourget, where he found a valuable supply of horses, cattle, provisions, and beasts of burden.

After the capture of this town, the army halted a day, and then entered the fertile plain of Chambery. From this city, the road proceeds to Montmelian and the valley of the Isere, along which, till the fourth day, the army passed unmolested. At the end, however, of six days, on entering a difficult and precipitous defile, they were suddenly attacked by the very people who had professed great friendship to Hannibal, who had taken several of them as his guides during the two preceding days. With some difficulty, and great loss, Hannibal repulsed these treacherous Gauls, and he passed the night on a strong white rock. The next morning, the seventh day

from the capture of Bourget, and the ninth from the passage of the Mont du Chat, he led his army to the summit of the highest ridge of the Alps.

The place where Hannibal was attacked, is in the vicinity of the village and plain of Seez, a short distance to the west of the Petit or Little St. Bernard. This is proved by the fact that, from Seez, the passage of the Little St. Bernard appears so directly in front as not to be mistaken. On both sides of the road from Seez thither, the mountains are lofty, steep, and covered with snow, while the pass of the Little St. Bernard presents itself beneath; the attack was consequently made from the lofty heights lining this defile. From the foot of the St. Bernard descends an Alpine torrent called the Reclus, which passes by the village of Seez. This torrent is very often dry, and on its left bank stands a white rock of gypsum, to which the name of La Roche Blanche, or, The White Rock, has been universally given. This is the identical rock on which Hannibal passed the night, to cover the passage of his army. This rock is admirably calculated for defensive operations. It commands the whole plain of Seez, and would have enabled Hannibal to act equally against the enemy on the heights above St. Germains, and on both sides of the line of the old Roman road. From hence it is clear that Hannibal crossed the Alps into Italy by the Little St. Bernard. It is proved also by the fact that large bones, which must be the bones of elephants, have been repeatedly discovered by the peasants, when the soil on the margin of the Reclus has been washed away by an Alpine flood.

It was, as we have seen, on the ninth day that Hannibal gained the summit of the Little St. Bernard. On this summit there is a plain two miles and a half in length, on which he rested his army two days. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen,* and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived this, and halting on a hill from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains watered by the Po,†

* The snow begins to fall there generally in autumn, and winter begins at Michaelmas.

† This circumstance has been started as an objection against the hypothesis of the Little St. Bernard being the pass by which Hannibal entered Italy; but if the objection be valid, as regards the Little St. Bernard, it is equally so with reference to all the other passes of the Alps. But it is not necessary to suppose that either the army saw the plains of the Po from the pass itself, or that the entire army saw the plains at all,

telling them that they had but one effort more to make before they arrived thither. He represented to them that a battle or two would put a period to all their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, filled with such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity; they therefore pursued their march. But the road became more craggy than ever; and as they were now on a descent, the difficulty and danger increased. The ways were narrow, steep, and slippery in most places, so that the soldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They were now arrived at a more dangerous place than they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very rugged and craggy, but which having been made more so by a late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above 1000 feet deep. Here the cavalry suddenly halted. Hannibal, wondering at the cause, ran to the place, and perceiving the danger, was for making a circuitous rout; but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen, of no great depth, the feet, at first, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they could find no firm footing; consequently the greatest danger ensued. Besides this difficulty, the horses, striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. The army was therefore forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days' rest on the summit of this hill, which was of considerable extent, after they should have cleared the ground,

whether from the pass or the surrounding heights. There were, however, several peaks from which such of the army as chose might enjoy the view of Italy as described by Polybius. The rarity of the atmosphere at great elevations is well known to enlarge the sphere of vision, and Bishop Berkeley says of the air of Italy, that when he first went there, its purity caused him to believe that many places were at hand, which were, nevertheless, many leagues distant. To have seen Rome itself from the loftiest summit of the Alps, would have been impossible, but for tnem to see the direction in which Rome lay, and that from the little St. Bernard itself, is within the bounds of belief from the causes noticed.

and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of great labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, which work was carried on with much patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down and piled round the rock, after which they were set on fire. By these, and various other methods, Hannibal surmounted all difficulties, and he at length gained the fruitful fields of Italy. Eighteen days, in the whole, were spent in crossing the range from Chevelu to Donas, where it terminates.

We pause here for a moment, to reflect upon this mighty movement. The reader will, doubtless, admire the patience, the ardour, and the mental energy displayed at every step which the warrior took. But he must stop here. When we have thus admired Hannibal, we have given him his due meed of praise. The ends he had in view in this enterprise, and his recklessness of the lives of those under his command, must meet with censure, and we must look upon him as one of those scourges which the Almighty sometimes permits to visit the human race for their iniquities. We must look upon him, also, as becomes Christians, with pity. It is, indeed, lamentable to see a man possessed of such a capacious mind, and capable of benefiting his fellow man to a vast extent, using those powers under the withering influences of paganism, only to their destruction, and the wasting of God's fair earth. Such, we shall see, were the evils attendant upon his every step in the beautiful land of Italy.

When Hannibal entered Italy, his army was by no means so numerous as when he left Spain. It had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. But at his departure from the Rhone, it still consisted of 38,000 foot, and above 8000 horse. The march over the Alps, however, destroyed nearly half this number, so that he had now remaining only 12,000 Africans, 8000 Spanish foot, and 6000 cavalry. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from New Carthage, including the eighteen days he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It was probably then about September.

Hannibal's first care was to give his troops rest; but as soon as he perceived that they were fit for action, he began his wild career of slaughter. The inhabitants of the territories of

Turin refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their city, carried it in three days, and put all his opposers to death with the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread, that they all came and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal concluded, therefore, that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit, such as might inspire those who should have an inclination to join him with confidence.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made, alarmed Rome, and caused the greatest consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hasten to the relief of his country, and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced by forced marches towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus, a small river now called Pesino, near Lombardy.

The armies being now in sight, the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers preparatory to the engagement, in which speeches each endeavoured to inspire his followers with a desire of doing valiantly, or, in other words, to revenge their country's wrongs, either real or imaginary, upon the enemy. When these were concluded, both sides prepared to engage.

Scipio posted in the first line the troops armed with missive weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advanced slowly. Hannibal advanced with the whole of his cavalry, in the centre of which he posted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horsemen, who rode without saddles or bridles, on the wings, in order to surround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a charge and dreadful slaughter ensued. The battle continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted, so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surrounded the enemy, and charged the rear of the light armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and trod them under the horses' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were thrown into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a

wound the consul received, which disabled him from continuing the combat. This general, however, was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years of age, and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse, who covered him with their arms and bodies; the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, by which means Hannibal was prevented from overtaking him.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. This indeed, Polybius says, was what induced that general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; because nothing else would oblige the Gauls to declare in his favour, and he regarded their assistance as his only refuge.

Sempronius, the consul, upon the orders he had received from the senate, had now returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards the Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po, a little above the Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, between which only that small river intervened. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained some advantage over a party of Carthaginians. This he construed into a complete victory. He boasted of his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. He was now, therefore, resolved to come to a decisive battle as soon as possible, and he consulted Scipio, out of courtesy, upon the subject. Scipio entertained a different opinion from himself. He represented, that if time should be allowed for disciplining the new troops during the winter, they would be much fitter for service during the campaign; that the Gauls, who were fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds were healed, his presence might be of some use in such a weighty affair; in a word, he besought him earnestly to forego his design.

These reasons, though just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of 16,000 Romans, and 20,000 allies, exclusive of cavalry, when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to nearly the same number. He thought the juncture exceedingly favourable for him. He declared that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind, he observed, being more affected by his wound than his body, could not for that reason endure the thought of an engagement. But still, he continued, is it just to let the whole army languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul and a new army would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drew near, and Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war, and therefore it was his opinion that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness to secure to himself the honour of the victory. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

Hannibal held it as a maxim, that a general who has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, has no other refuge left than continually to raise the expectation of his allies by some fresh exploits; and therefore he was pleased with this movement. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with newly-levied and inexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking advantage of the ardour of the Gauls, who were eager to engage, and of Scipio's absence. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with 2000 men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes growing thickly on that spot. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to battle; and then to retreat, and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen came to pass. Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then 6000 light-armed troops, who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon

which, the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits though the rivulet, which was swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without having taken the least precaution: whereas, Hannibal's army had by his order refreshed themselves, got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by their fires.

They were thus prepared to meet the Romans, who now drew near, half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time; but their cavalry was at length broken by that of the Carthaginians, which was superior in numbers: the infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade, sallying out at a proper time, rushed on a sudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of above 10,000 men resolutely fought their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom, they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends, nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse and the river, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to death by the horses and elephants. Those who escaped joined the body above mentioned, and the next night Scipio also retired to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses and all their elephants but one were destroyed by the cold, rain, and snow.

In Spain, the Romans had better success in this and the following campaign; for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus, defeated Hanno, and took him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity whilst he was in winter quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection and co-operation of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners whom he had taken from the allies of the Romans, that he was not come with a view of making war upon them, but of restoring the Italians to their liberty, and protecting them against the Romans, he sent them all

home to their own countries, without requiring a ransom. (B. C. 217.)

As soon as the winter was over, Hannibal set out towards Tuscany, whither he resorted for two reasons: first, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired of the long stay of his army in their territories, and were impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view than to carry it into the country of their common enemy; secondly, that he might by some bold exploit increase the reputation of his arms in the sight of all Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome, and at the same time reanimate his troops and the Gauls, his allies, by the plunder of his enemy's lands. But in his march over the Apennines, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, and the winds of heaven appeared to conspire for his ruin; so that the fatigues which his army had endured in crossing the towering Alps, seemed light in comparison to those they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought with Sempronius, who was returned from Rome; in which contest the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

Whilst Hannibal was in these winter quarters, he adopted a true Carthaginian stratagem. He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant natives, and the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date; he had reason, therefore, to apprehend a change in their disposition, and, consequently, that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself from these apprehended dangers, he ordered clothes to be made, and false hair, suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another, and so disguised himself, that even his most intimate acquaintance could scarcely recognise him.

At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls. Hannibal, having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to meet him. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was compelled to pass over. Here his army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights, they marched mid-leg in water, and consequently could obtain no rest. Hannibal himself, who rode upon the only elephant left, could hardly surmount the danger. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled

from that place, together with the unhealthiness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

Hannibal, having extricated himself from this dangerous situation, and refreshed his troops, marched onwards, and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesulæ, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany. His first endeavours were to discover the disposition of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his weak side, which, Polybius says, should always be the chief study of a general. He was informed that Flaminius was conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper in these excesses, to which he was by nature prone, Hannibal inflamed his impetuosity, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, even if Hannibal had not thus wantonly provoked him. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste, he thought it would reflect disgrace upon him should he suffer the enemy to ransack Italy without control, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait for his colleague, and to be satisfied for the present with checking the devastations of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left, and the lake Thrasymenus on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with the design to give him battle, in order to prevent his march, having observed that the ground was convenient for an engagement, he thought only of making preparations for it. The lake Thrasymenus and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on the side with hills of a considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army, posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade on the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Hannibal, having permitted him to advance with his forces above half-way through the valley, and seeing the Roman vanguard near him, gave the signal for battle, and commanded his troops to appear from their hiding-place, in order that he might attack them from all quarters.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, nor had

they their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked on every hand. In a moment, all were thrown into disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so general a consternation, animated his soldiers, and exhorted them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. The Romans, however, when they saw themselves surrounded by the enemy at the lake, without hope of escape, commenced the struggle with ardour. So great was the fury of the combatants, that not a soldier in either army perceived the shocks of an earthquake, which happened in that country at the time, and buried whole cities in ruins. At length Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans fled. Great numbers, endeavouring to save themselves, leaped into the lake; whilst others, directing their course to the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands. Six thousand only, by dint of courage, escaped from the field, and the next day they also were taken prisoners. In this battle 15,000 Romans were slain. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding a ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial; but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshments, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but 1500 men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal despatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his success. This caused the greatest joy for the present, gave birth to the most promising hopes for the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared with great ardour, to send necessary succours into Italy and Spain.

On the contrary, Rome was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the pretor had pronounced from the Rostra the following words: "We have lost a great battle." The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that recourse must now be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person, as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all other authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed general of his horse.

After the battle of Thrasymenus, Hannibal, not thinking it prudent to march directly to Rome, contented himself with wasting the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum, and after ten days' march, arrived in the territory of Adria. He obtained a considerable booty in this march. Inspired with implacable and unrighteous enmity to the Romans, he cruelly commanded that all who were able to bear arms should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle, he advanced as far as Apulia, plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the natives to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to show all Italy, that Rome itself yielded him the palm of victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius, and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step till he had first reconnoitred every place, nor hazard a battle till success should be certain.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to their very intrenchments. Finding, however, every thing quiet, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having lost the valour which had so much distinguished their ancestors; but fretting inwardly to find he had to do with a general whose temperament was so different to that of his predecessors; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

Hannibal perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which he foresaw would embarrass him much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had firmness enough to pursue steadily the plan he appeared to have adopted. He endeavoured, therefore, to shake his resolution by the different movements which he made, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the towns and villages. At one time, he would raise his camp with precipitation, and at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. Fabius, however, still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never appearing near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at such a distance as might give him an opportunity of escaping. He never

suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, nor even on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct, he insensibly revived the courage of his soldiers, and enabled them to rely, as they had done formerly, on their valour and good fortune.

Hannibal having obtained an immense booty in Campania, left that country, in order that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; while the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to winter there.

Fabius naturally supposed that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilinum, and thereby securing that small town, situated on the Vulturnus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua: he afterwards detached 4000 men to seize the only outlet through which Hannibal could pass; and then, according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the adjoining hills.

The Carthaginians arrived and encamped in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now the crafty Hannibal fell into the snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymenus; and it seemed impossible for him to extricate himself from this difficulty, there being but one pass, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself, and the probability was in his favour, with the hopes of putting an end to the war by a single battle. He thought fit, nevertheless, to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him. In such junctures as these, a general has need of unusual presence of mind and fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent without being dismayed, and promptly to find out expedients. Hannibal showed himself equal to this: he immediately caused 2000 oxen to be collected, and ordered small bundles of vine branches to be tied to their

horns; and towards the dead of night, these vine branches were set on fire, and the oxen driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped.

As soon as the poor animals felt the flame, the pain rendered them furious, and they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. A number of light armed soldiers accompanied the oxen, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the Romans, if they should meet them. Every thing happened as Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch light, quitted their post, and ran up to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to move while it was dark, for fear of a surprise, waited for the return of the day. Hannibal embraced this opportunity, marched his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescued his army out of a snare, in which, had Fabius been more vigorous, it would have been destroyed, or greatly weakened.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harassed by the Romans. The dictator being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly entreated Minucius before his departure not to venture an engagement. This entreaty was disregarded: the very first opportunity that offered itself, whilst part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, Minucius charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of it to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before occurred at the passage of the defile, raised complaints at the slow movements and timorous circumspection of Fabius. Matters, indeed, were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him, a circumstance never known before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this; for he had left Rome in order that he might not witness what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was sensible that though his authority was divided, his skill in the art of war was superior.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this

proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger whilst under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part of the army which he commanded.

Hannibal, informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was rejoiced to hear of this dissension between the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, into which he fell. He engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and were upon the point of being destroyed, when Fabius, alarmed by the outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers, "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius: let us flee and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable; for it compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm." This important service rendered by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius; he acknowledged his error, and returned immediately to his duty and obedience.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

In the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw from thence supplies both of men and money. Accordingly, they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after, his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time, the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro; but now they crossed it, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their progress in Spain, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelox, for so this Spaniard was called, persuaded Bostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants

more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. Abelox prevailed, and was charged with the commission; but instead of conducting them home, he delivered them to the Romans, who afterwards presented them to their parents, by which means they acquired their amity.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

The next spring, (216 years B. C.,) C. Terrentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were chosen consuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans formed their army into eight legions, which they never did before, each consisting of 5000 men, exclusive of the allies. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act separately, and it was very seldom that all these forces were used at the same time, and in the same expedition.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would meet the enemy at the first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated so long as such men as Fabius should head the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians greatly increased his arrogance, and confirmed him in his determination. Hannibal, however, regardless still of human suffering, considered this loss a real advantage; being persuaded that it would serve as a bait for the consul's rashness, and prompt him to a battle. It was afterwards discovered that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards moreover, were already meditating leaving him; so that he must have retreated from Italy, had not Varro being thrown in his way.

The two armies came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level country, and his cavalry superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place: he wished to draw the enemy into a spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action; but his colleague, who was inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconvenience of a divided command; jealousy, a disparity of tempers, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create dissension.

In accordance with his resolve, without consulting his colleague, Varro, one day when he had the command, (for the two consuls ruled absolute on alternate days,) prepared for battle. Hannibal had now his wish, and after observing to his soldiers, that being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have met with a more favourable place to engage in, he, supposing that the powers above delighted in the conflicts of man below, exclaimed: "Return thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great successive victories, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the former battles you have become masters of the open country; but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and (I presume to say it) of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but action; I trust in the gods, that you will soon see my promises verified." This speech, so flattering, so full of hope, and so suited to the desires of his army, inspired it with ardour.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to 80,000 foot, and about 6000 horse; that of the Carthaginians to 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who possessed the art of turning every incident to advantage, had posted himself so that the wind Vulturnus, (a wind answering to the modern sirocco, or hot wind which blows from the quarter of Africa for many days together,) which rises at stated seasons, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed the main body of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the same line with their cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he placed himself at the head of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to give battle, rounding his front as he drew near the enemy, and extending his flanks in the shape of a half moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy armed infantry.

The result of this battle was dreadful. The Romans were

conquered, and, according to Livy, 43,000 human beings perished. Hannibal himself, great as his thirst was for revenge and slaughter, seems to have been at this time satisfied; for he cried out several times to his soldiers, "Spare the vanquished." Among the slain was Æmilius; Servilius; Minucius, the late general of horse to Fabius; two quæstors; one and twenty military tribunes; many who had been consuls; and fourscore senators. Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered to the enemy. Varro, the consul, through whose rashness this disaster had occurred, escaped with the remnant of the army into the adjacent cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march without loss of time to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the Capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was a matter which required mature deliberation: "I see," replied Maharbal, "that the gods have not endowed the same man with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory."

It is asserted, that this delay saved Rome, and the empire. If it did, it must not be attributed to the error of Hannibal, as some have supposed. His will was to raze the very foundations of Rome to the ground; but, restrained by a higher Power, who ruleth unseen, and sometimes unknown among men, he was fearful of prosecuting at this time the desire of his heart: hence we may safely affirm, that Rome was saved by the interposition of Divine Providence.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal had despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory, and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the conflict.

On his arrival, Mago, in full senate, made a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had obtained over the Romans. And, to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, he poured out in the middle of the senate a bushel of gold rings which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ, with the intention, no doubt, of inflaming their avarice, for which they were proverbial, that he might the more readily obtain his demands;

for he concluded his speech with demanding money, provisions, and reinforcements.

Mago, by this deed, showed that he understood the weak point of the senate: most of them were struck with an extraordinary joy; and Imilco, a great friend to Hannibal, fancying he had a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, who was opposed to that general, he asked him, whether they were still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and were still for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno replied, that his opinion was unaltered; and that the victories of which they so much boasted (supposing them real) could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace. He then undertook to prove that the mighty exploits of which they so much boasted were fallacious: "I have cut to pieces," says he, continuing Mago's speech, "the Roman armies; send me some troops. What more could you ask had you been conquered? I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full, no doubt, of provisions of every kind. Send me provisions and money. Could you have talked otherwise, had you lost your camp?" He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations had come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace. To this Mago answered in the negative. "I then perceive," replied Hanno, "that we are no farther advanced, than when Hannibal first landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be supplied. But Hannibal's faction prevailing, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were treated as the effects of prejudice and jealousy, and orders were given for levying, without delay, the required supplies. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise 24,000 foot and 4000 horse in that country: but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent to another quarter; so eager was the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they abhorred. While in Rome, a consul, who had fled, was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being victorious. Thus, being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions, than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to Hannibal than the Romans, Hanno did all in his power to prevent future success, and to render that which had been already gained of no avail.

Thus weak and inconsistent is man by nature, and so va-

rious are the ways in which he torments his fellow. Dislike, once conceived and cherished, there is no mean, unjust, and cruel expedient, to which he will not frequently resort, to make him feel his vengeance. But how different is it when men are born again by the Spirit of God! Then, the fierceness of the fallen nature of man being restrained by his hallowed influences, it exhibits a dove-like and peaceable disposition; and men whose dispositions are of an opposite nature, associate together in harmony and love; each striving to administer to his brother's happiness, for the sake of their one common Lord.

The battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal, drew over to his interest Græcia Magna, with the city of Tarentum, and thus wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury and a love of pleasure, the usual attendants on wealth, had corrupted the minds of its citizens, who, from their natural inclinations, were much inclined to voluptuousness.

Hannibal made choice of this city for his winter quarters; and here it was, according to Livy, that those soldiers who had sustained the hardest toil, and braved the most formidable dangers, were weakened and subdued by luxury. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after efforts were rather owing to the fame and splendour of their former victories, than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one would have taken them for other men than those who had entered it under his command. Accustomed during the winter season to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the varied toils of war; and obedience and discipline were entirely laid aside.

It is doubtful if Livy is correct in imputing all these fatal consequences to the delights of Capua. It might have been one, and a great cause, (for luxury is the destroyer of man, both soul and body,) but the real cause of the decline of Hannibal's affairs in Italy, was owing to his want of succours from Carthage. The design of Imilco's faction in sending these succours was thwarted by that of Hanno, and those recruits which Mago raised by order of the senate were sent to another quarter. It followed, therefore, that Hannibal was

left to depend upon his own personal resources. His army was now reduced to 26,000 foot, and 9000 horse; and it was hence impossible for him, in an enemy's country, to seize on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies; to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field with advantage against two armies of the Romans, which were recruited every year. The truth is, bounds were set to his unhallowed ambition and revenge by a superior Power, and he was to be sent home, not decked with the wreath of a victor, but "clothed with shame."

TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

The two Scipios still continued in the command of Spain, (B. C. 214,) and their arms were making considerable progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage to march into Italy to the relief of Hannibal his brother. Before that general set out, he wrote to the senate to convince them of the necessity of sending a general in his stead who was capable of opposing the Romans. Imilco was therefore sent thither with an army, and Asdrubal set out upon his march in order to join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known, than the greatest part of Spain was subjected by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent Asdrubal, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed if, being scarcely able to resist Hannibal alone, they should be attacked by the two brothers with their united forces. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and overcame him, so that he could neither continue his march for Italy, nor remain in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellion, which they had fomented in that country, they lost 12,000 men in a battle fought against the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom were Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago, (not Hannibal's brother,) who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

From the time of Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their former repu-

tation. M. Marcellus, first as pretor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, (B. C. 211—212,) seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been termed its Buckler.

But what most affected Hannibal was, to see Capua besieged by the Romans. In order, therefore, to sustain his reputation among his allies by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he hastened to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At length, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily toward Rome, (B. C. 211,) in order to make a powerful diversion.

Hannibal was not without hope of being able, in the first consternation, to storm some part of Rome, and thus drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the siege of Capua to the relief of their capital; at least he flattered himself, that if, for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging or defeating them.

Rome was surprised at this movement, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators, to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius declared, that it would be shameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures upon every movement of Hannibal. They therefore only called a portion of the army and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius, the pro-consul, from the siege.

Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing for the conflict, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps than the face of the heavens grew serene, as though pleased with having prevented the strife.

But the circumstances which most confounded Hannibal were, that whilst he lay encamped at the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and that the ground whereon his camp was pitched had been sold, notwithstanding that circumstance, for its full value. So barefaced a contempt stung Hannibal to the quick;

he therefore, by way of retaliation, put up to auction the shops of the goldsmiths round the Forum. After this bravado, he retired, and in his march plundered the rich temple of the goddess Ferona, who, according to heathen mythology, presided over groves.

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After such of its senators as had taken the chief share in its revolt, and who could not expect mercy from the Romans, had put themselves to a tragical death by drinking poison, the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege fully restored to the Romans their superiority over the Carthaginians, and it showed at the same time how formidable the power of the Romans was when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends in the hour of danger.

THE AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

The aspect of affairs was very much changed in Spain, B. C. 212. The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin. They agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and 30,000 Celtiberians, (a people of ancient Spain, supposed to have been descended from Celtar, who, in remote times, emigrated from Gaul, and afterwards became mixed with the native Iberians,) should march against Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the Italian allies, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders he had to oppose, Masinissa, elate with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself, and was soon to be followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement, and the Romans, so long as they had their general at their head, made a courageous resistance; but he being slain, those who had escaped the carnage secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. Cneus was already more than half vanquished by the deser-

tion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction—never to let their own forces be exceeded in numbers by those of foreigners. Cneus guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and Spain deeply felt their loss, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius, a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Soon after, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who severely revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of Rome in Spain to a flourishing condition.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

One unforeseen defeat, which occurred B. C. 207, ruined all the measures and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war, were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius. The latter had for his province the Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who it was reported was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians and in Lucania, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there to oppose Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal but little trouble, because Hannibal had made his path clear, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this, he despatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by these letters that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome was at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of his duty; namely, that no general should leave his own province to go into that of another.

It was his opinion, that a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, a blow which would strike terror into the enemy. Drawing out, therefore, from his own forces 7000 men who were the flower of his troops, he marched to join his colleague, in order that they might charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces.

Nero set out without giving his soldiers notice of his de-

sign. When he had advanced so far that it might be communicated without danger, he told them that he was leading them to certain victory; that in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to their lot.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night. The army of Porcius, the pretor, was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion that it would be better to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves; but Nero besought him not to ruin by delay an enterprise to which despatch only could give success, and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well absent as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given.

Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered by several circumstances that fresh troops were arrived, and he did not doubt but they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and to fear that he was come too late to his assistance. Accordingly, he sounded a retreat, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncertain which way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the river Metaurus, now called Metaro, and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the Romans overtook him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid an engagement, and he therefore did every thing which could be expected from the presence of mind and the valour of a great captain. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added reputation to that which he had already gained. He led on his soldiers, trembling and dispirited, against a superior enemy, animating them by his word, supporting them by his examples, and with entreaties and menaces endeavouring to bring back those who fled, till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed into the midst of a Roman cohort, and was slain. Polybius states, that 10,000 Carthaginians and 2000 Romans fell in this conflict.

Nero set out upon his march on the very night which fol-

lowed the engagement. Through every place where he passed in his return, shouts of joy and loud acclamations welcomed him, instead of those fears which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in the camp the sixth day. The head of Asdrubal, thrown into the camp of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate, and he thus perceived the falling condition of Carthage. Horace makes him speak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is described:—

"To lofty Carthage I no more shall send
Vaunts of my deeds, and heralds of my fame;
My boundless hopes almost are at an end,
With all the flowing fortune of our name;
These boundless hopes, that flowing fortune, all
Are dashed and buried in my brother's fall."—*P. Francis.*

These are fit words to put into the mouth of blighted ambition; they aptly show the extent of Hannibal's desires, and the depth of his grief at his frustrated designs. And when we consider that they are a faithful paraphrase of the very words which he did utter, they appear more strikingly pathetic, and better illustrate the character of Hannibal.

Reader, observe what that character is. There is no lamenting for his brother's loss, but as it affected his own honour. His own hopes and fortune are the only things which affected him in the catastrophe: thus betraying a heart void of humanity, and a soul ambitious alone of its own glory. He could adopt the words which Anarch uttered to Satan,—

"—— go and speed;
Havoc, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain;"

but, when his armies failed, or he himself was defeated in his designs, like that fiend who, in compassing the ruin of man, found his own,

"Struck with dread and anguish,"

he speaks of

"Joyless triumphs of his hoped success,
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,"—(*Milton.*)

to his followers; mourning over the loss of glory, as for an only child.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR CONCLUDED.

The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Carthaginians in Spain. The prudent vigour of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former prosperous condition, as the courageous slowness of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of the country, and subjected it to the Roman power. About this time, Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans, and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, on his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years of age. He had P. Licinus Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission for him to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilst his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal had retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, courage, and capacity, which could have been expected from sage experience, and the conquest of all Spain, were more than sufficient to establish his fame; but he considered these only as so many steps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprise, namely, the conquest of Africa.

Scipio repaired to Africa, B. C. 204, by which step he made it the seat of war. The devastation of the country, the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa, the defeat of the armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, and afterwards the taking Syphax himself prisoner, who was one of the most powerful supporters the Carthaginians had left,—all these things combined, made them at last turn their thoughts to peace. For this purpose, they deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected from that powerful body at Carthage, called the council of the Hundred.

Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate upon the earth, spoke to him in terms of submission, accused Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promised, in the name of the senate, implicit obedience to the Romans. Scipio replied, that though he was come into Africa for conquest, he would grant them peace upon these conditions: That they should deliver up all

the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, twenty excepted; should give to the Romans 500,000 bushels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 15,000 talents; and that, in the event of their accepting these conditions, they then might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned compliance, but it was only to gain time till Hannibal should return. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time, an express to Hannibal to order his return into Africa. B. C. 203.

Hannibal was then in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans, and shedding tears; he was exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. Never did a banished man show such regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in departing from that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes towards Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down imprecations, says Livy, upon himself, for not having marched his soldiers directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, whilst yet the swords of his soldiers were still reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome, the senate, dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer which they made in its name of adhering to the treaty of Lutatius, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time, Octavius, the pretor, sailing from Sicily into Africa with 200 vessels of burden, was overtaken near Carthage by a furious storm, which dispersed all his fleet. The citizens could not endure the thought of so rich a prey escaping their hand, and therefore they demanded that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied; and Asdrubal sailing out of harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to Carthage to complain of this outrage; but they were disregaded. The arrival of Hannibal had revived their courage, and again inspired them with hope.

The deputies were even in great danger of being ill-treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted them; but the magistrates, who were determined on the renewal of the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal, who was with the fleet near Utica, to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bragada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was to leave them. Asd rubal obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors; but he did not succeed in his treacherous designs.

This was a fresh subject for war between the two states. They were more exasperated against each other than ever, the Romans from a desire of avenging themselves for such perfidy, the Carthaginians from a persuasion that they could not now expect a peace.

We may here mention, that this trait in the character of the Carthaginians was one of the most usual and evil results of ancient paganism. There was no bond in its varied systems to bind men together in honesty of purpose. Some of those systems, indeed, taught that treachery was a necessary evil, in order to obtain a certain good. Hence, actions, which man, taught only by the taper light of reason, would shudder to commit, were committed without compunction, and frequently with a belief that the deed was a virtue. The same bitter fruits result from modern paganism. But how differently are we taught by the Christian system of moral duties. In the Bible, "precept upon precept," "line upon line," teaches us to speak the truth, to avoid deceit, and to act at all times towards our fellow-man under this impression: "Thou God seest me;" and it denounces woes upon those who, blessed with this light, act in opposition to it. How ought we, then, to prize the Bible, and to esteem it as the source of true knowledge, which points our way to heaven as with a sunbeam!

At the same time, Laelius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies from Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations in the persons of the ambassadors, it might have been expected that their deputies would have been seized by way of reprisal: Scipio, however, attentive to the Roman honour, dismissed them without injury. This act in moderation, at such a juncture, shamed and terrified the Carthaginians, and made even

Hannibal himself entertain admiration of a general who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed only a rectitude and greatness of soul that was more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

Hannibal, in the mean time, importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced into the country, and arrived at Zama, which is five days' march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. From thence he sent out spies to observe the position of the Romans. Scipio having seized these, instead of punishing them, commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might make close observation, and then they were sent back to Hannibal. The latter knew whence so bold an assurance flowed. After the many reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again smile upon him; whilst every one, therefore, was exciting him to battle, the destroyer of nations himself meditated only peace. But it was his own glory still that he sought. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might still appear uncertain. Guided by these motives, Hannibal sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which was complied with, and the time and place fixed.

When these two generals met, they continued for some time in deep silence, as though astonished, and struck with a mutual admiration of each other. At length Hannibal spoke, and after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a lively description of the ravages of war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him, that though he might hitherto have been successful, he ought to be aware of the inconstancy of fortune; that he himself was a proof of what he advanced; that Scipio was at time what Hannibal had been at Thrasymenus and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than he himself had done, by consenting to a peace, of which it was in his power to propose the conditions. Hannibal concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans; that they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa, whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio replied in a few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them alone, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he had given him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions proposed, to which, he observed, some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for their violation of the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail upon himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another with the resolution of deciding the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal dwelt upon the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had annihilated. Scipio represented to his soldiers the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the confession their enemies themselves had made, by the fact of coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more powerful to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals, and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

It would be needless to dwell upon the circumstances of the battle. The reader will naturally conclude that each strove ardently for the victory; and that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which would contribute to secure it to themselves. But it was vain on the part of Hannibal; thousands of the Carthaginians were slain, and a great number of prisoners taken. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was conquered, and declared that the citizens had no other choice left than to accept peace upon Scipio's conditions.

Scipio bestowed high eulogiums on Hannibal, with regard to his ability in taking advantages, his manner of drawing out his army and giving out his orders; and he affirmed that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself in the art of war. With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation which prevailed among the Carthaginians. He commanded one of his

lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst he prepared to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state as ambassadors, to implore his clemency. These he dismissed, bidding them to come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The duputies, thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. Scipio then called a council, the majority of which were for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which it must necessarily take to capture a city so strongly fortified, and fearing a successor might be appointed whilst he should be employed in the siege, made Scipio incline to mercy, and he granted their petition.

The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were—That the Carthaginians should continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war—that they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves and prisoners belonging to them ; all their ships, except ten triremes ; all the elephants which they then had, and that they should not train up any more for war—that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave of the Romans—should restore to Masinissa every thing of which they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors—should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome—should pay to the Romans 10,000 Euboic talents of silver in fifty annual payments (that is, about 1,750,000*l.*)—and give 100 hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, he agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former war, without which they were not to expect either a truce or a peace.

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisgo, that, in a speech, he endeavoured to dissuade the citizens from accepting a peace upon such humiliating terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisgo by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city

like Carthage, raised a universal murmur. Hannibal himself was vexed when he reflected upon what he had done, and immediately made an apology. "As I left," says he, "your city at nine years of age, and did not return to it till after thirty-six years' absence, I had full leisure to leave the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them." He then expatiated on the indispensable necessity of peace; and he added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even upon these conditions. After he, further, had pointed out to them the necessity of a unity of opinion on this subject, the whole city came over to his views; peace was accepted; satisfaction made to Scipio with regard to the ships reclaimed by him; a truce obtained for three months; and ambassadors were sent to Rome.

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, they were immediately admitted to an audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hœdus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first; and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that, had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant to the Romans the peace which they now dictated to the Carthaginians. "But," continued he, "wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffer themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual; whereas the Romans are so much accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said, to their glory, that they have extended their empire, in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by the conquest itself." The other ambassadors spoke in a more plaintive tone, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was going to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which it had fallen.

The senate and people being equally inclined to peace, sent full power to Scipio to conclude it, left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to return to Rome. The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city, to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about 200 whom they de-

sired to ransom. These the senate sent to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, should a peace be concluded.

On the return of their ambassadors, the Carthaginians concluded a peace with Scipio; after which, they delivered up to him more than 500 ships, which he burned in the sight of Carthage. The allies of the Latin name, and the Roman citizens who were delivered up to him as deserters, were put to death, after the manner of the ancients.

When the time for the first payment of the tribute arrived, as the funds of the government were exhausted, the difficulty of levying the sum required was great. This threw the senate into deep affliction, and many could not refrain tears. Hannibal, on this occasion, is said to have laughed, and when he was reproached by Asdrubal Hœdus, for thus insulting his country, in the affliction which he had brought upon it: "Were it possible," he replied, "for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance, you would then find, that this laughter, which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unseasonable than your unbecoming tears? *Then, then* ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burned, and you were forbidden to engage in foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate. We are sensible of the public calamity, so far only as we have a personal concern in it; and the loss of our money gives us the most pungent sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh, was heard. But now, when you are called on to contribute individually to the tax imposed upon the state, you bewail and lament as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish, that the subject of this day's grief may not soon appear to you the least of all your misfortunes."

This is a remarkable instance of the power of covetousness. Here are men of reverend years, and renowned for their gravity and wisdom, sitting down in sorrow and weeping like infants for the loss of their wealth. They had suffered greater losses before; their sons had been demanded of them their arms taken away, and their fleet destroyed, all of which calamities they bore with resignation. But now when their money is required at their hands, it calls forth the deepest

vexation of spirit. Truly has the apostle observed, that, "The love of money is the root of all evil," 1 Tim. vi. 10. When it has gained the ascendancy over the minds of men, it leads to crime and folly; and it brings down ruin upon nations, families, and individuals. This we learn not only from the pages of profane, but of sacred history, and indeed from our own personal observation. The pages of Holy Writ exhibit this vice to our view in its true light. They describe it, as having thrown the world generally into a state of infidel distrust of Divine Providence, and of dissatisfaction with the Divine allotments; to the truth of which, the history of ancient heathen nations bears its testimony; for they neither prayed to their gods nor laboured themselves for any other than temporal blessings, as their prayers and hymns abundantly show. Those hallowed pages, again, speak of covetousness, as actuating and debasing the character of an entire people, as the Israelites, Tyrians, and Chaldeans. They denounce it as leading to deceit, bribery, and injustice; and to some of the foulest acts and most fearful results that have stained the history of man public and private life. They speak of it as subversive of the threefold law of Christian duty, personal, social, and Divine; as being intimately connected with all vices; as destroying the bodies and souls of individuals, as Ananias, Sapphira, and Demas. Finally, they identify covetousness with idolatry, and speak of it as one of the characteristics of the final apostacy of man from God. Its effects are seen daily in our own social circles. There we learn somewhat of its soul-withering influence; for the cry of the world at large is, "Who will show us any good?" to the utter neglect of the "one thing needful;" thus showing, that the heart of man by nature is prone in modern as in ancient times to hew unto itself idols of gold and silver. Great need is there, therefore, for our Lord's caution: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness," Luke xii. 15.

We conclude this section of our history. Scipio, after all his affairs were settled, embarked for Rome. He arrived there safely, (B. C. 201,) and the most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him: and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon him; an honour till then unknown, no person before having assumed the name of a vanquished nation.

Thus ended the second Punic war: a war in which all the bad passions of human nature are made manifest in all its stages. To the Christian reader, it affords a melancholy pic-

ture of the human heart. It causes him to reflect on the once happy state of man, when there were no jarring elements in his nature; no desire of strife, no ambition, no love of glory, no revenge; when he held converse with angels and with God, and was at rest. But while he sighs over the fallen nature of man, and his descent from so happy a state, he may look forward to his recovery. The sure word of prophecy unfolds an era when swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks; when "nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," Isa. ii. 4; Mic. iv. 3. In that day, to adopt the figurative language of Scripture, which sets forth in glowing terms this changed nature of man, "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all" God's "holy mountain," Isa. xi. 6—9.

This glorious era will be the result of the universal spread of the gospel of peace. Mankind, then, will own the gentle sway of the Lord Jesus Christ. Yes, the Man of sorrows who once trod this earth as a stranger acquainted with grief, and who ended his life by an ignominious death upon the cross, shall one day "see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied,"—shall one day reign victorious *in* and *over* the hearts of all men. The blood that he shed was for the "healing of the nations." He saw them from on high striving with their Maker and with each other in the deadly conflict, and, pitying them, left his Father's throne to reconcile them unto God and to themselves; for he who loveth God, loveth his brother also, and a Christian looks upon all mankind as his brethren. This will be one of the most glorious results of the cross and passion of the Redeemer. Man thereby will be restored to peace with God and man—to that happy state which he enjoyed when first he came from the hands of his Creator. Well, therefore, may we take up the language of the poet, and say:

"Come, then, and added to Thy many crowns,
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
Thou who alone art worthy! It was thine

By ancient covenant, ere Nature's birth;
And thou hast made it thine by purchase since,
And overpaid its value with thy blood."—*Cowper.*

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WARS.

This interval, including about fifty years, that is, from B. C. 201, to B. C. 149, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two subjects; the one relating to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians.

Concerning the former, whose history includes the space of twenty-five years, and of whom we shall speak in this division, the following information has been handed down to us. After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal at first was greatly respected in Carthage, and he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. He headed, also, the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans; but the Romans, to whom his very name gave uneasiness, made complaints on that account, and he was recalled to Carthage.

On his return, he was appointed pretor, which seems to have been a very honourable dignity, and to have conferred great authority. Carthage, therefore, we shall see, with regard to him, was a new theatre on which he displayed qualities of a different nature to those he unfolded in the field of battle, and which will finish his portraiture, and in some measure redeem his character.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former prosperous condition, he was persuaded that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to its subjects in general, and scrupulous fidelity in the management of the public finances. The former, by observing an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such an undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties, unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state; keeps in reserve a never failing resource for sudden

emergencies; and prevents the people from being burdened by new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which produce disaffection to the government.

Hannibal saw, with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated pretor, he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily draw upon him.

The judges exercised the most flagrant extortion with impunity. They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed in an arbitrary manner of the lives and fortunes of the citizens, without the least possibility of a stop being put to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as pretor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges who openly abused his power. This officer, who was of the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had assumed all the haughtiness of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature to pass by unnoticed; he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought before an assembly of the people, when he impeached the whole bench of judges, whose pride was not to be restrained either by fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. Hannibal, perceiving that he was heard with pleasure, proposed a law, by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it obtained for him the friendship of the people at large, drew upon him the hatred of the greater part of the influential citizens.

Hannibal attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The public revenues were either squandered by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people at large. Hannibal, entering into a long detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate to be laid before him; inquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments, and

ordinary expenses of the state: and having discovered by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared that, without laying any new taxes upon the people, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans. The farmers of the revenues, whose rapine he had detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, declaimed vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been taken from them, and not that belonging to the state.

This double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal, and was the cause of his ruin. His enemies were incessantly writing to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them that he was carrying on a secret intercourse with Antiochus, king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately despatched agents to Hannibal, to concert measures for proceeding with the war he was meditating; that as some animals are so fierce that they cannot be tamed, in like manner Hannibal was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could ill brook ease, and sooner or later would breathe war again. These reports were listened to at Rome; and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. Scipio, however, strenuously opposed the measures which the senate meditated taking against Hannibal, on receiving this intelligence. He represented that it was derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to persecute him even in the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But, notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other motives were pretended as the cause of their mission, Hannibal was sensible that he himself was required. Accordingly, in the evening, he quitted Carthage, and retreated on board a ship which he had secretly provided for his own

escape; on which occasion, contrary to his usual wont, he bewailed the fate of his country more than his own.

This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace, or B. C. 193. The first place Hannibal landed at was Tyre, where he was received with great honours. After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, the capital of Syria, which the king had lately left; and from thence he waited upon him at Ephesus, a city of Asia Minor, and one of the twelve of the Ionian confederation. The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king, and contributed to settle him in his resolution to engage in war against Rome.

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would draw upon them the arms of the Romans, informed them that he had fled to Antiochus. They also, according to Cornelius Nepos, sent two ships to pursue him, sold his goods, destroyed his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile.

The Romans were much disturbed at the circumstance, and had Antiochus made a prompt use of their alarm, he might have turned it to his own advantage. The first advice that Hannibal gave that monarch, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was to make Italy the seat of war. For this purpose, he required 100 ships, and 11,000 or 12,000 land forces, and he offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet, to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war, and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy; during which time the king himself should remain in Greece with his army, holding himself constantly in readiness to cross over into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king at first approved of the plan.

Hannibal, in order to engage his friends at Carthage in his views, despatched thither a trusty person, with ample instructions how to proceed. This man was scarcely arrived in the city, but his business was suspected. He was for some time watched, and at last orders were issued for his being seized. He, however, prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed in several public places papers which unfolded the object of his visit. The senate immediately sent advice of this to Rome.

Villius, one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to inquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in

Ephesus. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and affected esteem for him on all occasions. But his chief aim by this designing behaviour was, to cause him to be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which artifice he succeeded.

Hannibal, sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him, since his conferences with Villius, took no notice of it for some time; but at last he deemed it advisable to come to an explanation with him, and to open his mind freely to him. "The hatred," says he, "which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It is this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It is this, which, even in times of peace, has caused me to be driven from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fixed by the same passion, should my hopes be frustrated here, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, and will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you continue in the resolution to take up arms against them, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you, once for all, address yourself to others for advice, and not to me." This speech, so frank and sincere in the avowal of his sinful hatred towards the Romans, removed all the king's suspicions, and he was resolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet. But the flattery of his courtiers soon after changed his mind on this subject. He was told that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him, in one day, a thousand projects; that this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be the general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself alone the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he would have all the glory of the successes ascribed to him.

Livy, in commenting upon this circumstance, makes this remark: "No minds," says he, "are more susceptible of envy than those whose merit is beneath their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others

for this reason alone, because they are strange and foreign to themselves." This remark was fully verified on this occasion. A low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in the breast of Antiochus, and Hannibal was now slighted.

In a council held some time after, to which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be engaged to form an alliance with Antiochus. "With regard," said he, "to the operations of the war, I adhere immovably to my first opinion; and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal—a name that strikes terror into the Romans—in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with, must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have nothing now in my power, but to give you my counsel, and offer you my service. May the gods give success to all your undertakings!" Hannibal's speech was received with applause, but not one of his counsels was acted upon.

Antiochus, deceived by his flatterers, remained at Ephesus after the Romans had driven him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was constantly assuring him that the war would soon be removed into Asia; that he would soon see the enemy at his gates; and that he must resolve either to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people who grasped at the empire of the world. The king was prompted by this representation to make some weak efforts; but, as his conduct was unsteady, after sustaining losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace.

One of the articles of this treaty was, that Antiochus should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans; but that general escaped to Crete, now called Candia, an island facing the Ægean sea.

The Cretians seem to have been notorious for dishonesty and falsehood; hence *Cretizare cum cretensibus*, to "deceive the deceiver," was a common proverb, with reference to that people. Polybius never mentions them without some severe expression; and their character is also alluded to by the apostle Paul. In the instruction he gave to Titus how to proceed

in establishing the Cretians in the faith, he says: "For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision: whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. One of themselves, even a prophet" (or poet, for the terms poet and prophet were often used indifferently both by the Greeks and Romans) "of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies," Tit. i. 10—12; or, as the two latter phrases have been interpreted, "brutes" and "lazy gluttons."

But Hannibal showed himself able to cope with the Cretians, with reference to their avarice and deceit. The riches he had brought with him excited their avarice, and he was in some danger of being ruined by them. By a stratagem, however, he eluded their power. He filled several vessels with molten lead, the tops of which were thinly covered over with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, (primarily the moon,) in the presence of several Cretians, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted round the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass, which he carried about with him. After this, embracing a favourable opportunity, he made his escape, and fled to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia.

Hannibal made some stay in the court of Prusias, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of Prusias gained several victories, both by land and sea. In one of the latter engagements, ever fruitful in invention to obtain the conquests over his opposers, he employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind. As the enemy's fleet consisted of more ships than his, he put into earthen vessels, all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim was to destroy Eumenes, and for that purpose it was necessary to discover in which ship he was. This end he obtained by pretending to send a letter to him; and having gained this point, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct their attack principally against his ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outsailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them, and then, when they saw themselves surrounded with the serpents,

which darted out of these vessels when they broke to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

But the career of Hannibal was now drawing to a close. The Romans would not suffer him to rest at the court of Prusias; but deputed Q. Flaminius to that monarch to complain of the protection he afforded him. Hannibal was aware of the motives of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up to the power of the Romans. He attempted to secure himself by flight; but perceiving that the seven secret outlets which he had contrived in his palace were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by perfidiously betraying his guest, was desirous of gaining the favour of Rome, he ordered the poison which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion. This being brought him, taking it in his hand, he exclaimed, "Let us free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have so long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony to the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias impiously to murder one who is not only his friend, but his guest." After this, calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors of the sacred rights of hospitality, he drank the poison, and died at seventy years of age.*

* The place where Hannibal died, was an obscure village, anciently called Libyssa. This has been generally supposed to be the modern Ghebse, or Ghebsa, which is a small, dirty town chiefly inhabited by Turks, at some distance from the northern shore of the Gulf of Nicomedis, and remarkable for a tumulus, or mound, supposed to be the monument of that celebrated commander. A learned antiquary and classical geographer, however, (Colonel Leake,) has shown this to be a mistake. He states, that Ghebsa, which is pronounced Ghivizah by both Turks and Greeks, is more probably the successor of Dacibyza, the word when written in Greek *Kibyza*, being probably the ancient *Dacibyza*, with the omission of the first syllable. He remarks, also, that the thirty-six or thirty-nine Roman miles, placed in the itinerary between Chalcedonia (Scutari) and Libyssa, does not agree so well with the distance from Scutari to Ghebsa, as from Scutari to Malsum, which village he takes to be the ancient Libyssa. What would appear to confirm this supposition,

His name has been handed down to posterity by secular historians as one of the greatest in the annals of fame. But those who are accustomed to revere the rights of humanity, and to look upon human life as a sacred deposit on earth from God, not to be violated in man's own person, or in that of another, must drop the tear of pity over his memory, and pray that the sun in the heavens may not again shine upon such a character, and that the earth may no more be visited by such a scourge. But his deeds were the effects of that spirit of evil which especially characterizes paganism, though its effects are too often exhibited by nominal Christians. Had "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God," as it is discerned "in the face of Jesus Christ," shone with its healing influences into his heart, he would, perhaps, have been as great a blessing as he was a scourge to mankind. Thrice glorious, then, will that day be, when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," Isa. xi. 9; for the sword shall then rust in its scabbard, and every man shall sit "under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid," Mic. iv. 4. Peace, through the blood of the cross, shall then flow like a river, and spread its hallowed influence over the face of the whole earth, making it as the garden of Eden, in which man will delight to dwell, and to enjoy communion with his God.

We now proceed to notice the dissensions between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of Numidia. Among the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which enacted, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and farther, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that mon-

is the circumstance of there being a long tongue of land at this village, projecting from the opposite shore, and a ferry called the ferry of the *Dil*, or Tongue, which Plutarch seems to refer to in his description of a sandy place at ancient Libyssa; his description and the promontory exactly corresponding. If Gheviza, therefore, be supposed a corruption not of Libyssa, but of Dacibyza, and if the distance of Malsum corresponds to that stated in the itinerary, and Plutarch's description of a sandy place at Libyssa has reference to the promotory of Malsum; then that village, and not Ghebsa, must be regarded as the ancient Libyssa. It may be mentioned, that a tomb has been lately discovered at Malta with this plain inscription, "Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar;" a circumstance which has raised doubts in the minds of some learned men as to the soundness of the universal opinion, namely that Hannibal died a voluntary death. Till, however, it can be shown that there was no other Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, it is better to credit the testimony of the ancient historian, which is definite on this point.

arch had shown towards the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This present afterwards gave rise to disputes between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned over different nations. The subjects of Syphax were called Massæsylii, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the Massylii; but they are better know by the name of Numidians, which was a name derived from their original pastoral life, and which was common to both.

The country which these tribes inhabited was bounded by the dominions of Carthage on the east; by the Molucha or Molocath, the modern Mulwia or Mohalou, on the west; by the Mediterranean on the north; and by the Gætuli on the south. The Roman province of Numidia was of much smaller extent; this was bounded by the Ampsagus on the west, and by the Tusca, corresponding to the eastern part of Algiers, on the east.

In the beginning of the second Punic war, Syphax siding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinnissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, considered it his interest to join the Carthaginans; and accordingly he sent against Syphax a powerful army, under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age. Syphax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost 30,000 men, escaped into Mauritania. The aspect of affairs was, however, afterwards greatly changed.

Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin, being driven from his kingdom by an usurper, pursued by Syphax, in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies, destitute of forces, money, and of every resource. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. But his misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Laelius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time continued inviolably attached to the Roman interest. Syphax, on the contrary, having married Sophonisha, daughter of Asdrubal, who is celebrated in history for her beauty, went over to the Carthaginians.

The fate of these two princes again changed, but the change was now final. Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy, B. C. 203. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater

danger in that city than in the field. This was Sophonisba, whose charms he was unable to resist. To secure this princess, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her poison as her nuptial present; this being the only way he could devise to keep his promise with Sophonisba, and preserve her from the power of the Romans. This was a great error, and one that could not fail to disoblige a nation jealous of its authority. But Masinissa, according to the notions of those days, made some amends for his fault, by the signal services he afterwards rendered to Scipio.

We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon Masinissa, and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all that he had previously possessed. This it was that gave rise to the dissensions between the two states.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the Lesser Syrtis, was the object of contention. The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful; a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis alone, which belonged to that territory, paid the Carthaginians a talent daily, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side sent deputies to Rome to plead the cause of their respective superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot; but these returned without coming to any decision.

Ten years after, B. C. 180, new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

The Carthaginians brought their complant, about B. C. 170, again before the Roman senate, and with greater importunity. They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles; that the treaty forbade their making war upon any of the allies of Rome; that they could no longer endure the insolence, avarice, and cruelty of that prince; that they were deputed to Rome with three requests:—1, that the affair ought to be examined and deceded by the senate; 2, that they might be permitted to repel force by force; and, 3, that if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be given up to Masinissa, that they might know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would show some mode-

ration at a time that this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if they had any cause of complaint against the Carthaginians, since the conclusion of the last peace, they themselves would punish them, and not give them up to the caprice of a prince by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, pierced with grief, and shedding floods of tears, they fell prostrate upon the earth—a spectacle that moved all present with compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa.

Galussa, the son of Masinissa, was present, and he being asked what he had to urge in this affair, answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing what would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstances which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians was the fidelity with which he had always been attached to the Romans.

The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to whom it might be due; that Galussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded immediately to send deputies with those of Carthage; that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians; that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans to have the Carthaginians robbed during the peace of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty.

But all these assurances were vain. The Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or to do them the least justice, and they evidently protracted the business on purpose to give Masinissa time to establish himself in his usurpation, and to weaken Carthage.

A new deputation, B. C. 155, was sent to examine the affairs upon the spot; but nothing could be agreed upon. Cato, the elder, was one of the commissioners at this time. That inflexible old man inspected every part of the great commercial city; and being astonished at the sight of its still remaining wealth and magnificence, persuaded himself that nothing but its ruin could insure the dominion of Rome. Hence the well-known burden of his address to the senate on his return, "Carthage must be destroyed." From that time, indeed, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added these

words to his opinion: "Carthage must be destroyed." Some of the Roman senators, however, and Scipio Nasica among the rest, were for conciliatory measures.

In the mean time, divisions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, having become more powerful than that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment, and bound the people by an oath never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who despatched Galussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their recall. The gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic.

This gave occasion to a new war; and accordingly, armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought, the result of which was, the defeat of the Carthaginians. Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was a spectator of this strife. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and, if we may credit his own words, beheld the fearful scene with pleasure. He used to say, indeed, that there were but two more who had the pleasure of being spectators of such an action; namely, Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy, alluding to some passages in the Iliad of Homer: see Books VIII. and XIII. If Scipio did thus feel pleased, his heart was indeed void of humanity; for many thousands of his fellow-creatures were engaged in destroying each other, a sight sufficient, one would think, to appal the stoutest heart, and to have made him utter sentiments similar to those of the Christian poet:—

"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more."—*Cowper.*

After the battle was over, the Carthaginians entreated Scipio to terminate their conflict with Masinissa. Accordingly, he heard both parties; and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium, which had been the first cause of dispute, to pay Masinissa 200 talents of silver at once, and 800 more at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting upon the return of the exiles, and the Carthaginians being unwilling to agree to such a proposition, the affair was left undecided.

Immediately after the battle was over, Masinissa had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come. During this interval, deputies arrived from Rome with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, should the king be defeated; otherwise to leave it undetermined, and to give him the strongest assurance of their continued friendship. The deputies complied with the last perfidious injunction. In the mean time, the famine increased daily among the Carthaginians, and, to add to their calamity, it was followed by a plague. Being reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles. They farther submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke, (two forked poles and a spear laid across,) after which they were dismissed, with only one garment for each. But not all those who had escaped the battle, famine, and the plague, returned home. Galussa, in revenge for the ill-treatment which he had previously received from the Carthaginians, notwithstanding these soldiers were unarmed and defenceless, sent out against them a body of cavalry who destroyed great numbers of them. Very few out of 58,000 men returned to Carthage to tell their sad tale of woe.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

The third Punic war was commenced 149 years B. C., and continued its ravages during the three succeeding years. It is chiefly remarkable for its result; for it ended in the utter destruction of Carthage.

The inhabitants of Carthage knew what they now had to fear from the Romans; and to prevent the consequences of it, Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, were, by a decree of the senate, impeached as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of a war against Masinissa. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation could obtain no clearer reply to their inquiries, and they were filled with alarm. Recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was

already at their gates, and they endured in imagination all the consequences of a siege, and of a city taken sword in hand.

At Rome, the senate debated on the measures it would be proper for them to take, and the disputes between Cato, the elder, and Scipio Nasica, whose opinions differed on this subject, were renewed. The former, as we have seen, on his return from Africa, had declared, that Carthage, being still a powerful city, ought to be destroyed, in order to secure the safety and pre-eminence of Rome. It is farther said, that, after he had ended his speech, he threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs; and, as the senators admired their beauty and size, "Know," says he, "that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us."

Cato and Nasica had each their reasons for voting as they did. Nasica, observing that the people of Rome had risen to such a height of insolence, as led them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them into a pride which the senate itself could not check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city into every wild design they might undertake,—thought it was desirable they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this feeling might serve as a restraint upon them. It was his opinion that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and, at the same time, too strong to be considered by them in a contemptible light. Cato, on the other hand, thought that, as his countrymen had become insolent by success, and plunged headlong into profligacy of every kind, nothing could be more dangerous than for them to have for a rival and an enemy, a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident, and consequently more to be feared than ever. He advised, therefore, the removal of the fears of the Romans entirely with regard to a foreign power, that they might freely indulge themselves, in excesses of every kind, without fear of molestation.

Which of these two reasoned most wisely, the event showed. "The first Scipio," says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, "had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was

no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption."

The senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons urged for it were, their having maintained ships contrary to the tenor of the treaty, and their having sent an army out of their territories against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they had treated ill, at the time that he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

An event which occurred at the time the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, doubtless contributed very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have occurred more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, very rich, and had a commodious port. It stood within 60 furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but formally proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible; and they had secret orders from the senate not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum, in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were 80,000 foot, and about 4000 horse soldiers.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome. The answer brought back by the deputies had only increased their fears, and made them pause to know what course to take. At length they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should think proper, and even to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. They did not, however, expect any success from this condescension, because, as the Uticans had been beforehand with them on that occasion, this circumstance had deprived them of the merit of a voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was sent out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate, and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies, therefore, had no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they pos-

sessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, 300 young Carthaginians of the first rank, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with the deepest anxiety, which would not allow them to make a reply, or demand an explanation. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities perplexed them exceedingly. But all they could do was to obey. After the many losses the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means able to resist the Romans. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, and every thing were wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

The Carthaginians did not wait till the thirty days were expired, but sent immediately the hostages demanded, in hope of softening the enemy by a willing obedience. These hostages were the flower of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was any spectacle more moving; nothing was heard but cries, nothing seen but tears. The disconsolate mother of each hostage, bathed in tears, tore her dishevelled hair, beat her breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted her, yelled in such a manner, as might have moved to pity the most stony heart. But the scene was more touching when the moment of separation was come. Each tender parent, persuaded that they should never see their offspring more, bathed them with their tears, clasped them with eager fondness in their embraces, and force alone could dissever them from their arms. The hostages having arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome, and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

Nothing is more painful than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, gives occasion to the mind to picture to itself every species of misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet had arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp, signifying that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive their commands, which they were ready to obey. The consul, after

praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the pitiable condition to which he was reducing them at a time when Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advancing to their gates with an army of 20,000 men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would look to that matter.

This order was immediately put into execution: 200,000 complete sets of armour, numerous darts and javelins, and 2000 balistæ or catapultæ were put into the hands of the Romans. They were accompanied by the deputies, the senators, and priests of Carthage, who came purposely to move the Romans to compassion. But there was no pity for them. Censorinus, the consul, affected at first some kindness to, and affection for them; but suddenly assuming a severe countenance, he exclaimed, "I cannot but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions which you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia, or twelve miles, from the sea."

The instant this unjust and fulminating decree was pronounced, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but the most lamentable outcries. They rolled themselves in the dust, tore their hair, and vented their grief by broken sighs and groans. Afterwards, being somewhat recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards heaven, and the next to the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice. But being unheeded, they changed their prayers into reproaches and imprecations, bidding the Romans remember that there were avenging deities whose eyes ever observed guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to have the execution of the order suspended till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to attempt, if possible, its revocation.

The people waited the return of the deputation with impatience; and when they did return, it was scarcely possible for them to break through the assembled multitude, who flocked

around them to hear their answer. When they were come before the senate, and had declared the barbarous order of the Romans, a general shriek told the people of their fate; and from that instant they gave themselves up to despair.

The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage, not suspecting that they had now anything to fear. But the despair of the inhabitants again armed them. They took the opportunity of this delay to put themselves into a posture of defence, being unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of 20,000 men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops within the walls, was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to the manufactory of arms. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 javelins, 1,000 arrows, and a great number of engines for their discharge: and because they wanted material to make ropes, the women cut off their hair to supply the need.

At length, the consuls advanced towards the city in order to besiege it. As they now expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the resolution and the courage of the besieged filled them with astonishment. The Carthaginians were ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, served then as tribune in the army, and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, both by his prudence and his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights by refusing to follow his advice; he extricated the troops from many dangers into which the imprudence of their leaders had plunged them; and his enemies did not venture to keep the field when it was his turn to co-operate with the consuls. His valour and his merit, indeed, drew over to the Roman interest Phamæas, one of the Carthaginian officers, with above 2,000 horse, which band was of great service at the siege.

Calpurnius Piso, the consul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the next spring. No

thing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and the siege of Carthage advanced slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased; they daily obtained new allies, and even sent an express as far as Macedonia to the counterfeit Philip, who pretended to be the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

This news caused great uneasiness at Rome. The people began to doubt the success of this war. As much as they were dissatisfied with the supineness of the generals, and exclaimed against their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his virtues. He was now come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, countenance, and reputation, led to a general persuasion that he was designed to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather, had terminated the second. These several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and, though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the consulship was conferred upon him, and Africa assigned him as his province, without casting lots as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

Scipio soon after arrived in Utica. His first care after his arrival was to revive discipline among the troops, which had been entirely neglected. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed only such as were plain and fit for soldiers. After these regulations were made, he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, he led them silently in the dead of the night to that district of the city called Megara; when, ordering them to give a sudden shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy were at first in the utmost alarm: they defended themselves, however, so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city very near the walls, he detached thither a party of soldiers, who, by the help of pontons, or a sort of moveable bridge, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, the gates of which they broke

down. Scipio entered it immediately, and drove the Carthaginians out of that post: terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, they fled into the citadel, whither they were followed by the forces that were encamped without the city.

It will be proper to give here some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war against the Romans contained 700,000 inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter, in breadth. The peninsula was 360 stadia, or forty-five miles round. On the west side, there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or about seventy feet, broad; which advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded by a triple wall, thirty cubits, or about forty-five feet high, exclusive of the parapets and towers with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms, or about 480 feet. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls to hold 300 elephants with their fodder, and over these were stables for 4,000 horses and lofts for their food. There, likewise, was room enough to lodge 20,000 foot, and 4,000 horse soldiers. All these were contained within the walls alone. In one place only the walls were weak and low, and that was a neglected angle which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours which were on the west side. Of these there were two, which communicated with each other, but had only one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large quays in which were distinct receptacles for sheltering from the weather 220 ships. Over these were magazines, or storehouses, wherein was lodged whatever was necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's

palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea; but no one from thence could discern the transactions within the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war: the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate, that led to the city, without passing through the other.

Asdrubal, perceiving at daybreak the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and at the same time deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken, upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. He there put them to the most exquisite tortures, and then threw them down from the battlements. The Carthaginians themselves were filled with horror at the sight; but he did not spare even them: he destroyed many senators who had ventured to oppose his tyranny.

Finding himself master of the isthmus, Scipio burned the camp which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced Carthage, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen all that was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the isthmus, that is, twenty-four stadia, or four miles and three quarters. The enemy who were within bow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to stop this work, but as the whole army were employed upon it constantly, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a two-fold advantage from this work: first, his forces were lodged more securely than heretofore; secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, except those which were brought by sea. This was one of the chief causes of the famine which soon after raged in the city.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole beginning at the above mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. At first, the besieged looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and they insulted the workmen; but, at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to fear the result, and to take such measures as might render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, even the women and children, worked, but so secretly, that all Scipio

could learn from the prisoners was, that they heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the occasion of it. At length, the Carthaginians opened on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven, and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had just then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is thought, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must have taken it, inasmuch as it was unarmed; but the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed: having only offered a bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after, they appeared again for the purpose of taking the Roman fleet, but they found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. The conflict was fearful, each exerting themselves to the utmost. During the battle, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when attacked, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and as swiftly returned to the charge. At length, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sunset, the Carthaginians retired. Part of their ships not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, by reason of its narrow mouth, took shelter under a spacious terrace which had been thrown up against the walls to unload the goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the strife was renewed with redoubled vigour, and the Carthaginians suffered very much; but few ships escaped, and they sailed to the city for refuge. The next morning, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it; after which, he made a lodgment there, fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to that of the city, of the same height. When it was completed, he commanded 4,000 men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows which did great execution. With this achievement this campaign was closed.

During the winter, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city. For this purpose, he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they sheltered themselves. In this action, a great number of Carthaginians and peasants who had enlisted were slain, and the fort was taken after sustaining a siege of twenty-two days. The capture of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strongholds in Africa; and it contributed very

much to the downfall of Carthage itself, into which from that time, it was almost impossible to introduce any provisions.

Early in the next spring, Scipio attacked, at the same time, the harbour called Cothon and the citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the top whereof a shower of darts were discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat was carried on for six successive days, during which time a dreadful slaughter was made.

There was every reason to fear that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a still greater effusion of blood; but on the seventh day there appeared a company of men in the posture and habit of suppliants, who desired no other conditions than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel. This request was complied with, the deserters only excepted. Accordingly, there came out 50,000 men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about 900, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Esculapius, (the god of medicine in ancient mythology,) with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have withstood the enemy a long time, because the temple was situated upon high rocks, the only ascent to which was by sixty steps. But at length, exhausted by hunger and watching, and oppressed with fear, they lost all patience: abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, resolving not to quit it, but with their lives.

Asdrubal, however, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage at the sight, vented bitter imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. While it was kindling, it is said, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself and two children in sight of Scipio, ad-

dressed him with a loud voice thus: "I call not down curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then directing herself to Asdrubal, "Perfidious wretch," said she, "thou basest of men, this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, unworthy general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror; suffer in the sight of all Rome the tortures thou so justly deservest." She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she slew them, cast them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which act she was imitated by all the deserters.

Reader, this tragical act which the wife of Asdrubal committed, is one of the most appalling incidents recorded in the pages of this history. A sacred writer has spoken of the abandonment of her offspring by a fond mother as next to an impossibility; but in this instance they perish by a mother's hand. Evil, indeed, must that source be, which can produce such bitter fruits as these. We say bitter; for though the heathen world looked upon such deeds with complacency, and even as the results of heroism and high-born virtue, to a Christian, whose standard of heroism and virtue, is far more exalted than theirs, such a deed as this must be considered one of the foulest crimes that ever stained the annals of paganism. Christian parents, rejoice in that ye are blessed with the light of the gospel dispensation—in that ye are taught to suffer evils with such exalted patience as to possess your souls; to regard your offspring with filial love and tenderness, and as the gifts of a beneficent Creator unto whom you are responsible for your treatment of them. Your system of moral duties both towards God and towards man is pure indeed! Study them, and act up to them, as unfolded in the pages of Holy Writ, and they will not only preserve you from crime, but impart unto you happiness in time and in eternity.

But we proceed. With regard to Scipio, when he saw this celebrated city, which had flourished for 700 years, entirely ruined, he could not forbear weeping at its hapless fate. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than private men—that a similar fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and in later times the

Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of such vast extent; and very recently, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following lines from Homer :—

"The day shall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay;
When Priam's powers, and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin swallow all."—*Pope.*

He thereby pronounced the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio on that occasion to explain himself.

Had Scipio been a Christian, he would have discovered what we are taught by the wise son of Sirach. "Because of unrighteous dealings," says he, "injuries and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another." He would have exclaimed, "Say among the heathen, that the Lord reigneth." Carthage is destroyed because its idolatry, avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty have attained their utmost height; and when the measure of the iniquities of Rome is filled up; when its luxury, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious glare of justice and virtue, have reached their limits, it will experience a similar fate. The sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, who "putteth down one and setteth up another, shall give the universe an important lesson in its downfall."

Carthage being thus taken, Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings in the temples excepted) to his soldiers. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom Tib. Gracchus and Caius Fannius, had particularly distinguished themselves. After this, adorning a small ship with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome, with the news of the capture of Carthage. This event occurred 146 years B. C.

At the same time he invited the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the paintings and statues of which the Carthaginians had plundered them in the former wars. When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum the famous bull Phalaris, he told them that this bull, which was at once a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their present rulers, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live

under the yoke of the Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded his family not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of taking Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as though the public tranquillity had not been secure till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them in Sicily, Spain, and Italy, for seventeen years together; during which time Hannibal had plundered 400 towns, destroyed, in different engagements, 300,000 men, and reduced Rome itself to the verge of ruin. Amidst the remembrance of these evils, the people in Rome would ask one another whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards their idol gods; and the citizens were for many days employed in solemn sacrifices, public prayers, games, and spectacles.

After this the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the future. Their first care was to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage, which they did by fire. Rome, though mirtsess of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being. So true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and soul-hardening wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease till the object that occasions it is no more.

But the enmity of Rome did not stop here. Orders were given in the name of the Romans that it should never be inhabited again; and imprecations were denounced against those who contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage: Scipio being well pleased to exhibit the ruins of a city which had contended with Rome for empire. The commissioners decreed farther, that those cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories given to the Roman allies. They particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica of the whole country between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they

made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a pretor was sent annually.

These affairs being settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. Such a magnificent one had never been seen before; it exhibited the statues, invaluable paintings, and other curiosities which the Carthaginians had for many years been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of 6000 citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits and laying the foundation of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune not being scrupulous in such matters, carried on, and completed the work. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

There are still remains to be seen on this coast which are generally believed to be those of Roman Carthage. The town was called Colonia Carthago. It stood on the south-east part of the peninsula between Cape Carthage and Goletta, and it occupied but a small part of the site of the old city. It rose to considerable splendour, had its Cothon or harbour, and became the first city of Africa while that continent was under the sway of the Romans. It is known in Christian history for its councils, and for the spiritual labours of St. Augustine. It was taken by the Vandals under Genseric, A. D. 439; retaken by Belisarius, A. D. 533; and finally destroyed by the Saracens, in 689, after existing about seven centuries.

END OF VOL. II.